

HARVARD THEOLOGICAL REVIEW

VOLUME XXIV

OCTOBER, 1931

NUMBER 4

EZEKIEL OR PSEUDO-EZEKIEL?

SHALOM SPIEGEL

JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION
NEW YORK

1. Doubts concerning the Homogeneity and Genuineness of the Book

FROM the earliest times we hear of doubts and difficulties in the Book of Ezekiel which have beset alike the pious and the inquiring student. In patient love, like that of the talmudic sage of old,¹ generations have poured jars of oil into their lamps hoping to illumine in that prophecy what seems but an impenetrable gloom. Jerome often confesses his inability to grapple with the 'obscuritates' ² of a book known to be difficult in the tradition of the Hebrews.³ Especially he gives voice to utter consternation when on the threshold of the restored sanctuary envisioned by the prophet in his last chapters; there he is like one knocking at a closed portal.⁴ The chapters, tenebrous and trackless, are not unlike the catacombs he used to visit when studying in Rome: a glint from above would cast a swift light and then vanish, leaving him even more hopeless in the dusky cave. In like manner he often thinks he has found the way through a dark and difficult chapter only to discover that he has sunk into even denser darkness. Not in temerity, therefore, but in faith and the fear of God will he venture his guesses about Ezekiel's temple, shrouded in the mystery and silence of the centuries ("quod saecula cuncta tacuerunt"):⁵ others may contribute more and, he hopes, will not despise his little portion.

¹ Shabbath 13b; Hagigah 13a; Menahoth 45a.

² Epist. 53 ad Paulinum, Vallarsi, I, 277.

³ Migne, Patr. Lat. XXV, 17, preface to Ezekiel.

⁴ Ibid. 380, on Ezek. 40, 5.

⁵ Ibid. 376.

Jerome's exegesis, like the theology of Tertullian,⁶ takes refuge in a symbolism of numbers, finding in the measurements and regulations of Ezekiel's plan of the temple a picture of the heavenly kingdom of the Church. Devout centuries, unperturbed by historical considerations, found in the warmth of such religious exercise sufficient contentment.

Jewish exegesis was chiefly concerned with halakhic difficulties of the book, intuitively and correctly feeling that the legislation of chapters 40-48 is the main purpose of the prophecy, if not the key to it. The pious commentators of the Middle Ages, following the example of the rabbis of the Talmud, labored to square the prophet's words with the laws of Moses. Yet with all their ability in harmonistic exegesis they often confess their helplessness. Rashi, who bravely battles through the difficulties of the last chapters, cannot suppress the complaint and the reproach that, because of our sins, we have lost the commentaries of that teacher of old, Hananiah ben Hezekiah, who successfully expounded the riddles of Ezekiel.⁷ The systematic mind of Maimonides is unable to conceal his dislike for all kinds of occultness: the temple vision of Ezekiel, he says, is not sufficiently explained.⁸

It was left to the heretic Spinoza⁹ to seek another reason for the puzzles of the book: he doubts whether the prophet's utterances have come to us intact and in the exact order of their deliverance. The text of Ezekiel seems to him to imply other writings; the whole book is obviously but a fragment. When speaking of the attempts to reconcile the prophecy with the Pentateuch he wonders whether Hananiah ben Hezekiah accomplished that task by writing a commentary which has now perished or by altering Ezekiel's words and audaciously striking out phrases according to his fancy ("quod ipsa Ezechielis verba et orationes, ut fuit audacia, mutaverit et ex suo ingenio ornaverit").¹⁰

⁶ See Wilhelm Neuss, *Das Buch Ezechiel in Theologie und Kunst bis zum Ende des XII. Jahrh.*, Münster, 1912, where the patristic exegesis of Ezekiel is surveyed.

⁷ Rashi on Ezek. 45, 22.

⁸ הלכות בית הבחירה I, 4.

⁹ *Tractatus theologico-politicus*, 1670, c. 10.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* c. 2, §49.

The bolder step, the first drastic application of the knife of modern biblical surgery on the book of Ezekiel, was made in the year 1756, though the venture, very daring at that time, could be made public only posthumously in 1771.¹¹ Georg Ludwig Oeder was the first to doubt the homogeneity or substantial integrity¹² of the prophecy of Ezekiel. His book, in a manner typical of the age of enlightenment, questions the inspired character of some biblical books: Esther, Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah are denied their claim to sacredness and canonicity, since they contain but human wisdom and human information, and are useful only to the Jews. The fourth discourse of the book treats of Ezekiel. The legislation of this prophet in his temple vision has never been executed: ignored by the returning exiles from Babylonia, it still awaits its fulfilment. The Egyptian darkness of chapters 40-48, defying throughout the centuries all attempts at elucidation, should of itself prove their spuriousness. Josephus (*Ant.* x. 5, 1) speaks of two books of Ezekiel: the first must have contained chapters 1-39, comprising all the authentic utterances of the prophet, while the remaining portion was supposititiously appended to his book. Vogel, who published the book with annotations of his own, adds the hypothesis that the Second Ezekiel is part of a Samaritan plot to persuade the new colony of returned Jews in Jerusalem to tear down the temple they had built, on the ground that it plainly contradicts the regulations laid down by their own prophet, and to lead them to erect instead, in accordance with the scheme of Ezekiel, a new sanctuary in which the Samaritans should be given equal privileges with the tribes of Judah and Benjamin.

This guess, not, as we shall later see, devoid of (distorted) truth, received as little credence as the entire book. J. D. Michaelis¹³ found here "nothing save conjectures":¹⁴ the supposition of the authors would, it seemed to him, demand with similar right

¹¹ Freye Untersuchung über einige Bücher des Alten Testaments, von dem Verfasser der christlich freyen Untersuchung über die sogenannte Offenbarung Johannis, mit Zugaben und Anmerkungen hrsg. von Georg Johann Ludvig Vogel, Halle, 1771.

¹² Correct accordingly the statement of George R. Berry, 'The Authorship of Ezekiel 40-48,' *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 1915, p. 17.

¹³ *Orientalische und Exegetische Bibliothek* II, pp. 1-58, Frankfurt a. M., 1772.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 53.

or arbitrariness the inclusion also of chapters 38 and 39 in the spurious part of the prophecy. "Diese Weissagung, von der man nach 2000 Jahren noch keine Erfüllung gezeigt hat, scheint eben so viel Schwierigkeiten zu haben, und nach ihren Grundsätzen eben so verdächtig zu sein, als die Beschreibung des Tempels."¹⁵

Heinrich Corrodi,¹⁶ a disciple of Semler and the author of an 'enlightened' history of chiliasm, followed the suggestion and postulated a later origin not only for chapters 40-48 but also for the oracles on Gog and Magog. Although rejecting the Samaritan theory of Vogler and introducing views of an historical nature into Oeder's dogmatic considerations, he is unable, as he openly admits, to advance beyond the doubts of his predecessors. No wonder that he too failed to impress the learned opinion of his day, which refused to follow him "into the uncertain realm of guesswork."¹⁷

The pruning knife, once applied, found still other work to do. In 1798 an anonymous communication in *The Monthly Magazine and British Register*¹⁸ takes issue with Eichhorn's exposition that the book of Ezekiel is genuine throughout, believing that a dissonance in the prophet's composition suggests rather the opposite. The first twenty-four chapters, though revealing vigorous imagination, are of low and ignoble taste, didactic and of needless circumstantiality, prone to ideas physically and morally obscene, save for chapter nineteen, which might pass for a fragment of Jeremiah. On the other hand:

From the 25th to the 32nd chapter inclusive, a distinct and loftier view of poetry prevails. Nothing low, or spun-out, here requires apology. All is dignified, simple, concise, sublime. A profusion of geographical knowledge is sedulously displayed; such as might be expected from a professed historiographer of the campaigns of Nebuchadrezzar, and from the companion of his

¹⁵ Ibid. p. 57; cf. also J. G. Eichhorn, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, III³, Leipzig, 1803, p. 204.

¹⁶ *Versuch einer Beleuchtung des jüdischen und christlichen Bibelkanons. Erstes Bändchen*, Halle, 1792, pp. 95 ff.

¹⁷ Eichhorn in *Allgemeine Bibliothek der biblischen Litteratur*, Leipzig, 1792, IV, p. 273; see also Gottlob Wilhelm Meyer, *Geschichte der Schrifterklärung*, Göttingen, 1809, V, pp. 629 ff.

¹⁸ 'Concerning the Author of some Poems ascribed to Ezekiel,' in Volume V, London, 1798, pp. 189 f.

marches. These poems all relate one or other enterprize of the king of Babylon. . . . They were evidently written on the spur of the occasion; since, at the moment of the blockade of Tyre, the poet does not hesitate to threaten its capture (c. 27) but, in a subsequent poem, we find (29: 18) that the siege had been unsuccessful, and that the king was marched forward to Egypt. For this miscalculation, for this want of foresight, the poet apologizes, and addressing himself to the king of Tyre, says nearly: "It is true, I called your resistance proud, but I perceive you estimated your strength; you were wiser than I." And, on this occasion, the poet names himself (28: 3): Daniel.

The author finds it not improbable that the celebrated Daniel, having imbibed in Chaldaean schools a steady alliance to the court of Babylon, was a sort of poet-laureate to Nebuchadnezzar. He attended the king's expeditions and composed war-songs on the shifting scenery of military events: they now form chapters 25-32, perhaps also 35, 38, and 39, of Ezekiel, possibly even the later oracles ascribed to Isaiah (chapter 10 onward), and chapter 46 of Jeremiah. Of course the writer knows that the work bearing the name of Daniel is a later writing, probably as late as Antiochus Epiphanes. But he agrees ¹⁹ that the existence of the Daniel legend, as well as the testimony of Ezekiel, is a proof of reputation that must have had some cause, which, he surmises, is the composition of the above-named series of poems.

The author seems to have had but little faith in his delightful hypothesis, as both the anonymity and the timidly cautious tone betray. He could hardly have foreseen that well down in the twentieth century a similar but more arbitrary attempt to chop up Ezekiel into chunks of 'low' prose and 'lofty' poetry would claim scientific validity.²⁰

After the shy attempts to question some parts of Ezekiel or the integrity of its composition, Leopold Zunz in 1832 in an epoch-making work declared the book in its entirety to be un-

¹⁹ With the writer in the *Monthly Review*, XXIII, pp. 49 f., who first suggested that the poems of Is. 10 ff. could be ascribed to Daniel.

²⁰ Gustav Hölcher, *Hesekiel, der Dichter und das Buch*, Giessen, 1924, pp. 5 f. One example may illustrate the author's method in dealing with one of the choicest pieces of poetry in the entire Bible, Ezek. 37. A poet of the rank of Schiller wanted to study Hebrew in order to be able to read the chapter in the original. Hölcher does not hesitate to declare some of it: "ästhetisch und logisch hässlich," "nicht geschickt," "schief," "unschönerweise" (p. 175). Apparently he cannot enjoy reading a chapter refuting his theory.

authentic.²¹ Its array of foreseen events, its acquaintance with younger personages and writings, its ritual and legislation, its late and aramaizing Hebrew prove it to be a product of the Persian era: the constitution of chapters 40–48 seems more intelligible when placed in the time of Cyrus rather than in the days of Jeremiah. More than four decades later Zunz²² reinforced his views with some modification, assigning the prophecy to 440–400 B.C. The oracle on the overthrow of Tyre seemed to him to suggest an even later date, the time of Alexander the Great.

Zunz's view, based upon a masterly analysis of Ezekiel's language and diction and adopted by a scholar of the rank of Abraham Geiger,²³ found elsewhere but little attention. In an attempt to locate the mountain Salmon (Ps. 68, 14) in the landscape of Hauran mentioned only in Ezekiel, J. G. Wetzstein²⁴ quotes the theory of Zunz on the post-exilic origin of this prophecy and expresses surprise at not having seen any refutation of his proofs. Franz Delitzsch²⁵ in the preface to the same book is not in the least astonished: "die Ansicht ist eben so abenteuerlich, dass niemand sie der Widerlegung wert befunden." The rebuttal of H. Graetz²⁶ seems to have escaped their attention.

Another attempt to disprove the authenticity of Ezekiel was made by L. Seinecke in his "Geschichte des Volkes Israel."²⁷ He declares the book to be a pseudepigraphon written in the year 163 B.C., as chapter 4 plainly states.²⁸ A similar indication of the true character of the book is to be read in Ezek. 2, 10 — 3, 1; it confessedly merely reëchoes the written words of God, namely, earlier prophecies, particularly those of Jeremiah.

²¹ Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden, Berlin, 1832, pp. 157–162.

²² ZDMG, XXVII, 1873, pp. 676–681, and 688 (in *Gesammelte Schriften*, Berlin, 1875, I, pp. 226–233, 241).

²³ *Urschrift und Übersetzungen der Bibel*, 1857, p. 23, and *Nachgelassene Schriften*, Berlin, 1875, II, p. 83.

²⁴ *Das batanäische Giebelgebirge* (Excurs über Ps. 68, 16), Leipzig, 1884.

²⁵ *Ibid.* p. 4.

²⁶ *Die Echtheit des Buches des Propheten Ezekiel*, MGWJ, XXIII, 1874, pp. 432 ff., 515 ff.

²⁷ Göttingen, 1876, I, p. 138, and in detail II, 1884, pp. 1–20.

²⁸ In the fifth year of the exile (Ezek. 1; 2), that is in 594–593, the prophet predicts redemption after 430 years (4; 5 ff.), that is in 164–163 B.C., at which time the temple at Jerusalem will be purged of the abominations and freed of the humiliations imposed by Antiochus.

Throughout the book the sound of a late and degenerate age is heard: though the author may adorn himself with the mantle of the prophets, he has lost their spirit. The prophecy is clearly incongruous with the Babylonian setting assigned to it: chapter 12 reveals the residence of its author in Judaea. When the seer is lifted by the flowing hair of his head and carried between earth and heaven to the captives by the river Chebar, he is really in perfect safety, writing at his desk in Jerusalem. The accusation in Ezek. 5, 11 is natural in the days of Antiochus, but we know of no such open profanation of the temple in the days of Zedekiah. The preferment of the Zadokite priests corresponds to the testimony in 1 Macc. 4, 41 f. that Judas Maccabaeus appointed to the priesthood only men of distinguished piety and zeal for the law. The enigmatic oracle in chapters 38 and 39 was easily understood in the Seleucid era: if the first two and last two letters of the name Antiochus are dropped, the remainder reminds us of Gog. There are other words built similarly: Ma-ked-on makes by an analogous process 'Ket,' in plural Kittim, said in the first book of Maccabees to be the homeland of Alexander the Great; by a similar omission the Roman *aestivalis* gives 'stival,' the German *Stiefel*. In this connection another etymology of Seinecke may be mentioned, a trace of Roman influence in the Near East in the time of the composition of Ezekiel: 'mesurah' (Ezek. 4, 11.16 and Lev. 19, 35) is but the Latin *mensura*.^{28a}

Seinecke's presentation makes delightful reading, but though he is able to add some interesting observations on Ezekiel's language, and displays a fertile historical imagination, he is too whimsical to weigh seriously the evidence of sources. However, his is an interesting though impossible²⁹ attempt to study the ancient prophecy from a later concrete historical situation.

The reaction of the scholarly world to the new interpretation of Ezekiel can be read in Kuenen's masterpiece:³⁰ he finds that the attempts of both Zunz and Seinecke were not made as me-

^{28a} A similar derivation is to be found as early as the ninth century in Judah ibn Kuraish, *Risālah*, ed. Bargès and Goldberg, Paris, 1857, p. 2.

²⁹ Cf. Sirach 49, 8.

³⁰ *Histor.-krit. Einleitung in die Bücher des A. T.*, Leipzig, 1890, I, 2, p. 302.

thodically and completely as the dissent from a long and unanimous tradition would require. His words contain a most timely lesson:

On true pseudepigrapha surprising light is shed when the date of their composition is discovered. The book of Ezekiel, however, if removed from Babylonia and the exilic era to Judaea and a later century, becomes a purposeless and unintelligible piece of writing. Whoever in the future again denies its authenticity should be mindful of the duty to give at least some account of the purpose the alleged author had in mind, of the knowledge he displays, and of the expectations and ordinances he postulates.³¹

None of the subsequent attempts can be said to have stood this test. Neither Maurice Vernes,³² who saw in Ezekiel a collection of fragments edited in the third century B.C., nor Ernest Havet's identification of Gog with the Parthians and assignment of chapters 40-48 to the days when Herod planned to reconstruct the temple,³³ was ever taken for more than a *jeu d'esprit*. Even Hugo Winckler's studies in Ezekiel have been found only fantastic: his theory of Alexander the Great as the prototype of Gog was soon forgotten;³⁴ his attempt at a new chronology of the book of Ezekiel, which according to his view begins in 539, or with the return of the exiles in the days of Cyrus, also gained but little attention.³⁵ Only Wilhelm Erbt³⁶ tried in Winckler's wake to treat the old prophecy as an historical survey of post-exilic Jerusalem and a plan for its future conceived in the stormy days of 522 B.C. Even the ingenious assumption³⁷ that Ezek. 32, 7 alludes to the eclipse of the moon and sun of September 16, 526, has not saved the new chronology from oblivion.

2. *The Babylonian Exile — Fact or Fiction?*

One hundred and seventy-five years have elapsed since Oeder wrote his doubts as to the homogeneity of Ezekiel. Nearly a

³¹ Ibid. p. 305.

³² Précis d'histoire juive, 1889, p. 811.

³³ 'La modernité des prophètes,' in Revue des deux mondes, August 1 and 15, 1889.

³⁴ Altorientalische Forschungen, Zweite Reihe, Band I, 1898, pp. 160-171.

³⁵ Ibid. III, Leipzig, 1902, pp. 135-155.

³⁶ 'Persönliches aus dem Hesekielbuche,' OLZ, XXII, 1919, pp. 246 ff.

³⁷ Erbt, 'Eine Mond- und Sonnenfinsternis im A. T.,' ibid. XXI, 1918, pp. 176-180.

century has passed since Zunz questioned the authenticity of the book. In modern commentaries is seldom found any reference to them save the summary dismissal, repeated from book to book, that their doubts have deservedly found no attention. To declare the entire book spurious, is to the mind even of the radical Hölscher¹ "ein grotesker Radikalismus." The well attested literary and historical document has weathered almost two centuries of modern scientific skepticism.

In view of such unusual agreement on the part of scholars, a new attempt to revive the repeatedly rejected theory would seem likely to be regarded as a mere curiosity. Coming, however, as it does from a scholar so distinguished and so justly esteemed as Professor Charles C. Torrey, the venture is assured both scientific respectability and serious attention. His is not a hasty guess: he sketched² his theory in 1909, reiterated it in his *Ezra Studies*,³ confirmed it in the *Marti-Festschrift*⁴ in 1925, and has now embodied it in a book, *Pseudo-Ezekiel and the Original Prophecy* (1930).⁵ If every promise to solve the age-long puzzles of that difficult book is certain of scientific interest, the new attempt compels it even more. For it is but a part of a larger whole, aiming at an entire reconsideration of exilic and post-exilic Jewish history, in fact at the abolition of these two terms, which, if Torrey's attempt succeeds, would turn out to correspond to nothing real in the life of ancient Israel. For what is traditionally known as the Babylonian exile and the subsequent restoration is here declared to be but the mischievous invention and *pia fraus* of a too zealous Jewish patriot and propagandist of the Greek period, the Chronicler with his school. In defence of the religious traditions of Jerusalem against the pretensions of the Samaritans on Mount Gerizim, who after the destruction of Jerusalem claimed to be the true heirs of the old Israelite

¹ Above, p. 249, note 20; Hölscher, p. 33.

² See the introduction to Torrey's 'Notes on the Aramaic Part of Daniel,' in Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, XV.

³ Chicago, 1910, p. 288, note.

⁴ 'Alexander the Great in the Old Testament Prophecies,' *Marti-Festschrift*, p. 284, note.

⁵ *Pseudo-Ezekiel and the Original Prophecy* (Yale Oriental Series, Researches, XVIII), New Haven, 1930.

tradition, the Chronicler undertook, without any basis in fact, an ingenious reconstruction of Jewish history, according to which the true Israel was preserved uncontaminated by way of the deportation to Babylonia, whence it eventually returned in triumph to the deserted cities of Judaea, thus restoring to them the only pure Israelite blood and the only genuine tradition. This historical fiction of exile and restoration, though picturesque and utterly untrustworthy, not only won the day for Judah and Jerusalem, but for two thousand years has misled the popular and scholarly opinion of mankind. Professor Torrey has endeavored for more than twenty years past to repair this falsification of Jewish history and to set in order another picture of Israel's life and letters which, if true, would revolutionize from top to bottom our conception of the development of ancient Hebrew history and literature and lead to an entirely new notion of many a book in the biblical canon. It is natural that a new view, departing so sharply from a long tradition (deservedly respected in the case of writings of such importance) should not have met with immediate or general approval. Nevertheless, some of Torrey's most important conclusions have been accepted by so great an orientalist as Nöldeke,⁶ and have been seriously considered in the *Cambridge Ancient History*,⁷ and they now are even incorporated in the 14th edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*,⁸ thus gaining in that widely used and trusted work of reference the recognition of scientific probability if not of certitude.

Professor Torrey has often repeated⁹ that the Chronicler's fanciful story of exile and restoration would hardly have been taken seriously by modern scholars except for the support seemingly given by Deutero-Isaiah and Ezekiel. The scant references in other writings would by themselves have counted but little. Having in a recent volume disposed of the testimony of Second Isaiah by a simple excision of direct references to Babylonia, Torrey's entire theory stands or falls with the sole sur-

⁶ Deutsche Literaturzeitung, October 4, 1924, 1849 ff.

⁷ III, 1925, p. 415.

⁸ VII, p. 27, art. 'Daniel'; cf. also *ibid.* IX, art. 'Ezra and Nehemiah, Books.'

⁹ For instance, in *The Second Isaiah, a New Interpretation*, New York, 1928, p. 28.

viving witness, the prophet of Babylonian exile and one of the fathers of restoration, Ezekiel. A careful and minute examination of the evidence presented, not shrinking even from tedious detail which alone gives rightful force to generalization, is therefore doubly imperative: it may cast new light on a book that has eluded many an attempt at elucidation, and it may help to confirm or to disprove a new interpretation of Jewish history.

Torrey's new analysis of the book of Ezekiel finds in it three strata, each of different origin and of different value for the knowledge of ancient Israel. The source of all historical information, upon which the entire prophecy is built, is the brief characterization of the wicked reign of Manasseh given in 2 Kings 21, 1-17, which with "the subsequent history contained in the Book of Kings (Kings only, not Chronicles), gave the writer [of Ezekiel] all of his material which deals directly with the Jewish people." The book of Ezekiel has therefore no independent historical value for the knowledge of pre-exilic or exilic Israel.

The bulk of the book is called the original prophecy and declared to have been composed in Jerusalem about 230 B.C. In modern parlance one could term it an historical novel or an imaginary autobiography of a prophet of the days of Manasseh. The author, writing at a later day, set himself to imagine what one (presumably the first) of the prophets, mentioned in 2 Kings 21, 10 f. and 24, 4, "would have said — what must indeed have been their message — in describing the sin of the people and predicting the woes that were impending."¹⁰ The original prophecy is thus a pseudepigraphon, both a product of, and a source of historical information for, the Greek period.

Shortly after the original work had appeared, another writer of the school of the Chronicler, by some half a hundred interpolations and slight alterations, refashioned the prophecy purporting to come from the reign of Manasseh into its present form of an utterance of the Babylonian Golah. Apart from such secondary disfigurement the original prophecy had contained no allusion to the Babylonian exile, which proves that as late as

¹⁰ Pseudo-Ezekiel, p. 113; cf. also p. 83, etc.

230 B.C. its author was either unacquainted with the recent fiction of the Chronicler's school or else did not credit its legendary account. In short, the book of Ezekiel, when cleared from later insertions, instead of being the principal witness to the Babylonian exile, furnishes unexpected evidence against it. No better support for Torrey's interpretation of Jewish history could indeed be found.

Is this brilliant demonstration fact or fiction? Is it based upon intrinsic evidence, upon the actual nature of the text, or is it obtained by the simple manoeuvre, not infrequent in modern biblical scholarship (the Greeks had a term for it, *πρῶτον ψεῦδος*), which first cuts out from the book everything that may interfere with an a priori theory, and then in turn uses the excised and expunged text to prove the very theory to which the book has been pared down and adjusted? Scissors, applied with courage and imagination, work wonders with any text, however well attested.

Torrey, who has himself made many a wise remark against such preposterous procedure, believes the evidence from facts presented in *Pseudo-Ezekiel* "many-sided and in the aggregate overwhelming."¹¹ Its result appears "with the utmost clearness and certainty, and the conclusion thus established is one that cannot be overthrown."¹² "I know, and am glad to know, that this new picture of the prophet will be met with suspicion. I believe, however, that in the end it will be recognized as the only interpretation which satisfies the evidence, literary, historical, and I may even add traditional, for I shall show that the ancient Jewish scholars knew with what they were dealing."¹³ The proofs from 'The Jewish Tradition' form the first chapter of the book, and shall be discussed first.

3. *Ezekiel in Rabbinic Tradition*

A familiar passage in the Talmud, alluded to in the foregoing, tells us that the book of Ezekiel, because of its discrepancies with the words of the Torah, was in danger of being 'withdrawn,' had it not been for the patient labors of Hananiah ben

¹¹ Ibid. p. 5.

¹² Ibid. p. 71.

¹³ Ibid. p. 6.

Hezekiah. "What was it that he did? Supplied with three hundred jars of oil, he sat in his upper chamber and explained it."¹ This picturesque story the author of *Pseudo-Ezekiel* believes to be "good-humored camouflage, nothing else."² The statement regarding the conflict of Ezekiel with the words of the Torah was made "with a twinkle in the eye": the Pentateuch was quite able to stand on its own feet. Moreover, a tradition recorded by Jerome³ speaks of a Jewish custom forbidding the study of both the beginning and the end of Ezekiel before the age of thirty years. "Why, now, the warning against *the beginning* of the book? We see that the 'conflict with the Pentateuch' was not the only source of trouble, perhaps not even the chief source. I think it will become increasingly evident that the danger . . . was located in the opening verses of the first chapter,"⁴ indeed in its first three words, said to contain the evidence of the late origin of Ezekiel. "Did anyone besides Hananiah ben Hezekiah ever read the details of his vindication of Ezekiel? We do not know. Certainly they were not important enough to be preserved. In *Menachoth* 45a the various points of disagreement between the prophet and the Pentateuch are mentioned and discussed, but by no means with any citation of Hananiah. On the contrary it is said, repeatedly, that when Elijah comes these matters will be finally explained. It would not require 300 jars of oil to say this much, and we should have been led by the story to suppose that even Elijah was not necessary. . . . The real cause of the controversy [over Ezekiel] was hidden, and that of necessity, under a mere pretext."^{4a}

There is but one defect in this bold structure: it rests on nothing. It fortunately happens that we actually have at least two citations from Hananiah's vindication of Ezekiel, which even without the statements of other rabbis leave no room for doubt as to why the immature student is warned precisely against the end and the beginning of the prophecy. They tell a plain and unambiguous story of the reason why the rabbis sought first to withdraw the book, and of the method of exegesis by which Hananiah was able to override their objection. The

¹ Shabbath 13b, etc.

² *Pseudo-Ezekiel*, p. 15.

³ Epistle to Paulinus, Vallarsi, I, 277.

⁴ *Pseudo-Ezekiel*, p. 16.

^{4a} *Ibid.*

two citations are to be found in Sifre ⁵ ad Deut. 25, 14 and in Hagigah 13a. The first deals with the last portion of the book and deserves to be first approached.

(a) *The halakhic difficulties of Ezekiel.* The passage from Siphre furnishes an example of the method which Hananiah ben Hezekiah adopted in harmonizing the prophet with the laws of Moses. It relates to Ezek. 46, 11, in which the meat-offering is spoken of as consisting of an ephah for a bullock, and an ephah for a ram, and [an ephah] for the lambs: "but is the measure for bullocks, rams, and lambs the same? or is it rather three tenth deals for a bullock, two tenth deals for a ram and one tenth deal for a lamb (Num. 15, 4 ff.)?" Hananiah's reply: The passage in Ezekiel "is to teach that the measure, whether large or small, is called an ephah." What this humane exegesis means, an even plainer statement in Menahoth 45a may illustrate. For a burnt-offering on the new moon Ezek. 46, 6 prescribes one young bullock and six lambs, while Num. 28, 11 speaks of two young bullocks and seven lambs: how is this discrepancy to be accounted for? "It teaches that if one cannot find two bullocks, he may offer one; if he cannot bring seven lambs, he may offer

⁵ Sifre, ed. M. Friedmann, Vienna, 1864, p. 126b, reads: Eleazar b. Hananiah b. Hezekiah; but the copy before Tosafoth (Menahoth 45a, b) read: Hananiah b. Hezekiah. Similarly, a baraita in Shabbath 13b attributes the composition of the 'Megillath Ta'anith' to Hananiah, while the scholion to the Scroll (ch. 12 end) names as its author Eleazar b. Hananiah.

On other grounds as well Grätz (Gesch. der Juden, III⁵, part 2, Excurs 26, p. 810) suggested the identity of the two names. The identification has been rather widely accepted: Jos. Derenbourg, Essai sur l'histoire et la géographie de la Palestine, Paris, 1876, p. 272; W. Jawitz, Toldoth Israel, V, p. 156; S. Krauss, in Hashiloah, VIII, Cracow, 1901, p. 109; Solomon Zeitlin, Megillat Taanit as a Source for Jewish Chronology, Philadelphia, 1922, p. 4; S. Dubnow, Weltgeschichte des jüdischen Volkes, Berlin, 1925, II, p. 474, and others. The date postulated by Isaac Halévy, Doroth harishonim, I, 3, 584 f. and by Louis Ginzberg, Jewish Encyclopedia, V, 316, leads to the same conclusion. I. H. Weiss, Dor dor we-dorshaw, I, p. 187, note, rejects the hypothesis of Grätz and reads Hananiah ben Hezekiah both in our passage in Sifre and in Mekhilta on Ex. 20, 8 (cf. his edition of the latter, Vienna, 1865, p. 77). B. Ratner, in Sepher hay-yobhel (of Sokolow), Warsaw, 1904, p. 511, collected a number of variants from later Hebrew traditions which corroborate the reading 'Hananiah.' But even if Eleazar be the son of Hananiah, the passage in Sifre is (to quote W. Bacher, Die Agada der Tannaiten, I, 22) "ein noch vorhandenes Beispiel dafür, wie Eleazar oder sein Vater die Widersprüche zwischen Pentateuch und Jecheskel ausglich."

six. Yea, even if he cannot bring five, he may bring four; or lacking four, three; or lacking three, two; or lacking two, even one, for it is written: 'and for the lambs according as his hand shall attain unto' (Ezek. 46, 7). This being the case, why the prescription of six lambs? That the ordinance be obeyed fully, whenever possible."

Whenever the text permitted, often even without it, Hananiah's method of harmonistic exegesis was followed by the rabbis, and their patient ingenuity succeeded in reading into troublesome passages many a lesson for edification. But even when a happy explanation was found, one often discerns the awareness of an unsolved halakhic difficulty. The passage in Ezek. 41, 22 is interpreted to imply that after the destruction of the temple charity takes the place of sacrifice: "Why does this verse begin with the altar and end with the table? Said Rabbi Johanan: As long as the temple existed, the altar atoned for Israel; now one's table [i. e. his feeding the poor ones] atones for him."⁶ This is beautiful sentiment and also shows brilliant homiletic skill, but behind it lurks an halakhic query, easily to be detected in the explanatory emendation of the Targum to Ezek. 41, 22 and 40, 41, namely: the prophet speaks, in contrast to sacred tradition, of sacrifices slain upon tables, not upon the altar.⁷ Careful study of the versions, particularly of the Aramaic but often also of the Syriac and the Greek, reveals that in their tacit emendations there lies embedded much of that rabbinic exegesis after the manner of Hananiah which rescued Ezekiel from being 'withdrawn' from the life of the synagogue.

Yet with all the midrashic deftness some of the halakhic disagreements of Ezekiel could not be explained away. One need only compare the rabbinic attempt at the vindication of Ezek. 45, 20, a truly acrobatic feat of exegesis, wrought with desperate violence to the language.⁸ This is no frivolous play of ingenuity, but springs from the most earnest and passionate concern about the consistency of sacred Scripture here brought into question so dangerously. No amount of labor and no num-

⁶ Berakhoth 55a; Hagigah 27a; Menahoth 97a.

⁷ See S. Krauss, in Hashiloah, VIII, 1901, p. 112: חקי יחזקאל ביהוסם אל תורת משה.

⁸ Menahoth 45a.

ber of jars of midnight oil could smooth away the incongruity with the Torah that lay in the prophet's peculiar ceremony of a semiannual riddance of sin from the sanctuary or in his strange liturgical calendar which mentioned no other festivals save pass-over and tabernacles. Will not such telltale inconsistency give 'the opening of the mouth' to the doubter to say that sacred Scripture contains not one, but two laws? No wonder that, overcome by the difficulties of that section (Ezek. 45, 18 f.), Rabbi Judah, as later Rabbi Johanan, takes recourse to Elijah, who alone will succeed in explaining the inexplicable divergence.

This is no "mere pretext" or part of the "good-humored camouflage" "under which [Ezekiel] was finally admitted to the collection of the Hebrew Prophets."⁹ That is the same kind of misapprehension of Jewish law as the other assumption, that since Ezekiel is speaking of an indefinite or even messianic time, there was no reason to feel present concern about his regulations for the future.¹⁰ The Jewish teachers must be viewed in the light of their own presuppositions; to them not even the remote future could bring another, a new, law, for there is no other law in heaven¹¹ but the one which existed before the world was created and shall endure in its entirety unchanged as long as the world exists.¹² The rabbis did not hesitate to learn norms of conduct and details of ritual for present-day use from Ezekiel's prophecy concerning "the end of years," the days of Gog and Magog, for they believed the rules of written and unwritten law to be equally binding even for the messianic age.¹³ Indeed much more binding in the messianic age, when the law will not only not be abrogated but will be more eagerly studied and more

⁹ Pseudo-Ezekiel, p. 21.

¹⁰ Ibid. p. 15.

¹¹ Deut. R. 8, 6 (on Deut. 30, 12): אמר להן משה שלא תאמרו משה אחר עומד ומביא לנו תורה אחרת מן השמים, כבר אני מודיע אתכם, לא בשמים היא אלה המצות שאין נביא רשאי לחדש דבר מעתה.

¹² G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, I, chap. iv, 'The Perpetuity of the Law' (pp. 269 ff.); Louis Ginzberg, *Eine unbekannte jüdische Sekte*, New York, 1922, pp. 305-306; Jacob Z. Lauterbach, 'The Pharisees and their Teachings,' in *Hebrew Union College Annual*, VI, p. 103.

¹³ From Ezek. 39, 15 several regulations are deduced for marking sunken graves. Yer. Shekalim I, 46a; b. Mo'ed Katān 5a, cf. also ibid. Tosaphoth v. רמז stating admirably the issue in question: הוזה לא בומן הזה לא כתיב אלא לעתיד אבל לא בומן הזה דהאי קרא לא כתיב אלא לעתיד אבל לא בומן הזה ומיהו משני דאיכא למילף מהתם.

fully observed than ever before.¹⁴ It is exactly this rabbinic doctrine of the perpetual validity of the law to which relates one of the functions of Elijah on the threshold of the messianic era. He is to come to settle legal and ritual doubts, to set straight all dissension, and to compose differences of opinion which could threaten to make of the one law two laws.¹⁵

The recourse to Elijah, used in rabbinic law but most rarely,¹⁶ is to be taken in all seriousness as an admission that the halakhic difficulty seems insuperable and that the inconsistency must for the time being remain unexplained. That such an admission of what seems 'two laws' within the canon was made not without anxiety is clear from the story preserved in the Talmud which tells of the sense of relief and joy experienced by Rabbi Jehudah when Rabbi Jose finally succeeded in rehabilitating Ezek. 45, 18 without the recourse to a miraculous intervention. Why does the prophet, speaking of sacrificing a bullock on the new moon, refer to it as if it were a sin-offering, though the prescribed sacrifice for the occasion is the burnt-offering (cf. Num. 28, 11)? Rabbi Jose resorts with marvelous ingenuity to a *παράβασις εἰς ἄλλο γένος*: Ezekiel speaks not of the new-moon sacrifice, but of the sin-offering at the dedication of the second temple, celebrated, as in the days of Moses (Lev. 9, 1 f.), on the eighth day after its completion, which by coincidence fell on the new moon of Nisan, or in the prophet's words: "in the first month, in the first day of the month." Overjoyed to have found halakhic agreement in what seemed a harassing dissidence, Rabbi Jehudah gave thanks: "Let thy mind be at ease, for thou hast set my mind at ease."¹⁷ But why should an halakhic disagreement in a writing not genuine make serious trouble, or give cause to rejoice so greatly when the variance is reconciled?

¹⁴ Sanhedrin 97a; Cant. R. 2, 13 and Pesikta R. xv (ed. Friedman 75a).

¹⁵ Cf. the locus classicus in Mishnah 'Eduyyoth VIII, 7; also Friedmann, Seder Eliyyahu, preface, p. 24; V. Aptowitz, Parteipolitik der Hasmonäerzeit im rabbinischen und pseudoepigraphischen Schrifttum (Kohut-Foundation), Vienna, 1927, pp. 103 f. and Joseph Klausner, *הרעיון המשמי' בישראל*, 2d ed., Jerusalem, 1927, pp. 291 ff.

¹⁶ The sixteen other passages in the vast rabbinic literature are enumerated by Ginzberg, p. 304, note 1.

¹⁷ Menahoth 45a; cf. also Zeitlin, Megillat Taanit, pp. 73 f. and note 1 on p. 119.

Had the least doubt prevailed as to the authenticity of Ezekiel, would it not have been more natural to indicate, if only by the subtlest of hints, that its testimony does not deserve equal weight with the rest of sacred Scripture? The earnestness with which the ritual deviations of the prophet are discussed, the assiduity employed in harmonizing them with the law of Moses, bespeak rather the underlying belief in the genuineness of Ezekiel.

In conclusion, in ritual matters the book of Ezekiel contains much that contradicts the teachings of Moses. Many jars of midnight oil must indeed have been consumed in converting its halakhic disagreements into agreement. But in some cases all such efforts would be in vain, for even past masters of interpretation like Rabbi Johanan — master also in the uses of oil¹⁸ and in patient search and re-search¹⁹ — as well as before him that “first among the speakers on all occasions,”²⁰ Rabbi Jehudah, gave up all hope of ever solving some of Ezekiel’s halakhic puzzles. No wonder, then, that the book narrowly escaped being ‘withdrawn’; “because its words conflicted with those of the Torah”²¹ — a true statement of the Talmud which deserves full credence.

(b) *Theosophical speculations.* The second definite reason, given also by the Talmud,²² for the hesitation over Ezekiel concerns the beginning of the book, and its description of the cherubic vehicle, known as the ‘work of the *merkabhah*,’ which gave rise to esoteric doctrines on the mysteries of the godhead. These doctrines were guarded by the rabbis in utmost secrecy²³

¹⁸ Horayoth 13b: א"ר יוחנן כשם שהזית משכה לימוד של ע' שנה כך שמן זית משיב לימוד של ע' שנה תקוע' א"ר יוחנן מתוך: Cf. also Menahoth 85b (on 2 Sam. 14, 2): שרגילין בשמן זית חכמה מצויה בהן

¹⁹ 'Erubin 54a, b (on Pr. 27, 18): מזה א"ר יוחנן למה נמשלו דברי תורה כתאנה. מזה א"ר יוחנן למה נמשלו דברי תורה כתאנה. מזה א"ר יוחנן למה נמשלו דברי תורה כתאנה. מזה א"ר יוחנן למה נמשלו דברי תורה כתאנה. מזה א"ר יוחנן למה נמשלו דברי תורה כתאנה.

²⁰ Berakhoth 63b, etc.

²¹ See note 1, p. 245.

²² Torrey, Pseudo-Ezekiel, p. 15, knows only of one reason given in the Talmud: he quotes, however, Moore, Judaism, I, p. 300, on “the interdict against the first chapter” of Ezekiel, dismissing it as a mere pretext: “it was hardly such a bugbear as this prohibition would make it. It is not likely that the picturesque imagery of the first chapter of Ezekiel has ever led any one into serious error” (p. 16).

²³ Mishnah and Tosefta Hagigah II, 1; Yer. Hagigah 77a, b. Hagigah 13a, 14b; Seder Eliyahu 31 (29), p. 162; cf. also Kiddushin 71a, Pesahim 50a, Yer. Yoma III, 40d.

and considered dangerous for immature, or even for seasoned, minds. The dangers spoken of were not imaginary, for we hear of concrete examples of great scholars led astray by occult teachings to wanton heresy or even mental derangement.²⁴ Again had it not been for the intervention of Hananiah ben Hezekiah, the use of the book of Ezekiel in theosophical speculations would have sent it to limbo. The Talmud refers to it in another picturesque story: ²⁵ "It happened once that a youth was reading in his teacher's house in the book of Ezekiel and pondering on the *ḥašmal* (Ezek. 1, 27), when fire issued from the *ḥašmal* and consumed him; ²⁶ whereupon they sought to withdraw the book of Ezekiel. But Hananiah ben Hezekiah said to them: If he [the youth] was wise, are then all wise?"

This second saying of Hananiah not only indicates another definite reason for the contemplated rejection of Ezekiel, but also has preserved his ready-witted answer in defence of the book, in fact in defence of all misused writings. Translated into modern speech his reply apparently means something like Lichtenberg's famous vindication of the misapprehended author: "Wenn ein Kopf und ein Buch zusammenstossen und es klingt hohl, ist denn das allemal im Buche?"

It was Hananiah's, or a similar, breadth of view (or perhaps practical sagacity) which on second thought prevented the arbitrary withdrawal of the prophetic writing: confiscation of objectionable literature, in ancient as in modern times, has always resulted only in securing a wider publicity. Especially in the case of esoteric and occult doctrines, no official repudiation has ever been able to thwart the mystic impulse; this is the case everywhere, but could be best demonstrated by examples from the history of Jewish mysticism.

But there is ample evidence in rabbinic literature that the mystic lore of the celestial vehicle, the *merkabhah*, contained perils which gave grave concern to the rabbis: it seems, even in early antiquity, not to have been altogether free from the

²⁴ Tos. Hagigah 11, 3, Hagigah 14b; Yer. Hagigah 77b; Cant. R. on 1, 4. See also Grätz, Gnostizismus und Judentum, Krotoschin, 1846, pp. 62 f., 71 f., 77 f.

²⁵ Hagigah 13a, bottom.

²⁶ On other victims of the merkabhah see Yer. Hagigah 77a, and b. Shabbath 80b.

aberrations known and deplored down to the threshold of modern times, in the history of the later kabbalah, where faith and fancy, frenzy and fraud, were so naïvely and viciously wedded. There is a pathos of silence in the ruthless expurgation of all allusion to angels in the tannaitic literature: ²⁷ here fear and protest glared against the angelology and demonology of the 'work of the *merkabhah*,' which they knew from actual experience of their day to have led many a promising youth to serious error, heresy, and even schism and apostasy.

What wonder that the rabbis, who did not admit even a single reference to angels in the entire Mishnah, were unwilling to permit for the general use of the synagogue the detailed description of the cherubic car with its four *hayyoth* and living *ophannim*. It was known to have given rise to esoteric demonology and theosophic mysteries, opposed more strongly and guarded even more carefully than the cosmological speculations, 'the works at the beginning,' which were not allowed to be discussed in the presence of more than one person, while 'the works of the *merkabhah*' were not to be discussed at all.²⁸ The question is rather, why did the rabbis spare the prophet? The natural and consistent procedure would have been to withdraw from circulation, if not the entire book, at least its most objectionable parts. The reason for the inconsistency or magnanimity of the rabbis is preserved in a beautiful midrash ²⁹ which will occupy us more in a subsequent chapter: it contains in legendary form a correct surmise as to the real motive behind the prophet's vision of the *merkabhah*. The rabbis discerned in it the painful problem of the generation before and after 586 B.C. Will God survive the destruction of the sanctuary or, as was asserted alike by the popular belief of the age, the skepticism of the scholar, and the sneer of the enemy, succumb with the defeat of his people? In answer, the prophet and priest, who suffered even more because of his pas-

²⁷ See Louis Ginzberg, 'Some Observations on the Attitude of the Synagogue towards the Apocalyptic-Eschatological Writings,' *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 41, 1922, p. 136; D. Neumark, *תולדות הפילוסופיה בישראל*, Warsaw, 1921, I, p. 44.

²⁸ Mishnah and Tos. Hagigah II, 1.

²⁹ Lev. R. 2, 8; Seder Eliyahu R. 7 (6), p. 34, Yalkut Shime'oni on Ezek. 2, 1 (§340).

sionate attachment to sacred symbols,³⁰ beholds in a vision the cherubic chariot which carries God away before his earthly shrine is consumed. The midrash of the rabbis says that through this revelation the prophet learned that God is neither lessened in his glory through the destruction of the temple nor deprived of worshippers and service, for in his heavenly abode there minister to him day and night innumerable hosts of angels.

The rabbis did not dare to suppress entirely the chapters on the *merkabhah*, though aware of its serious dangers in the life of the synagogue: they knew that behind its bold quest of sacred mysteries lies neither the frivolity of the falsarius nor the worldliness of the littérateur who employs the fashionable folly of theosophy to enrich his style or purse, but rather a true and tragic problem in a crucial moment of Jewish history. The inclusion of the obnoxious chapters within inspired Scripture would be inconceivable had the least doubt prevailed as to their authenticity.

In brief, it is an error to assume that "in any question of 'scripture profitable for instruction'" Ezekiel "would make an irresistible claim."³¹ The two reasons expressly recorded in the Talmud explain fully the rabbinic hesitation to admit the book to the inner circle. There may have existed as well other grounds for suspicion: these are not explicitly stated, but lie embedded in the halakhic discourses of the rabbis. There is no need for vagaries of fancy, when ample historic sources are extant and invite systematic investigation.

(c) *Sadducean tendencies*. The suggestion was long since made³² that Jeremiah traced his descent from Abiathar, who after the unsuccessful palace revolution of Adonijah was de-

³⁰ Cf. Siegfried Sprank, *Ezechielstudien*, Stuttgart, 1926, p. 36, who sees in Ezekiel, chap. 10, "eine priesterliche Spekulation über den Verbleib der Lade Jahwes"; see also Lorenz Dürr, *Ezechiels Vision von der Erscheinung Gottes im Lichte der vorderasiatischen Altertumskunde*, Münster, 1917, p. 6; and Hans Schmidt, 'Kerubenthron und Lade,' in *Εὐχαριστήριον*, Gunkel-Festschrift, Göttingen, 1923, pp. 120-144. Both Sprank and Schmidt cite Jer. 3, 16 f. as another prophetic answer to the same problem.

³¹ Pseudo-Ezekiel, p. 14.

³² B. Duhm, *Das Buch Jeremia*, Tübingen, 1901, pp. 2 f., and especially Dr. Elias Auerbach, *Die Prophetie*, Berlin, 1920, pp. 107 ff. Cf. also P. Volz, *Der Prophet Jeremia*, 2d ed., Leipzig, 1928, p. 2.

prived of his office as chief priest and banned to his fields in Anathoth (1 Kings 2, 27). Jeremiah thus belonged to the line of Ithamar (1 Chron. 24, 3): he must have heard in his youth of the glories of ancient Shiloh, where his ancestors ministered unto God, as well as of the subsequent Atreus-like curse which marred the lives of his forebears (1 Sam. 4, 18 f.; 22, 20; 1 Kings 2, 28) and seemed to foreshadow his own martyrdom. His vehement assault on the sanctuary at Jerusalem, which he held to deserve no better fate than was meted out to Shiloh (Jer. 7, 14 and 26, 6) — a blasphemy that nearly cost his life, is thus not devoid of personal accent: it echoes the resentment of the deposed line of Ithamar.

It is indeed a strange coincidence that the other great contemporary prophet, Ezekiel, should have been descended from the rival line of priests, the sons of Zadok and Eleazar. We understand better the greatness of those two teachers of ancient Israel, who, though heirs of hostile claims, met in the greater cause of prophetic rather than patriotic faith. But one may doubt whether Jeremiah would have agreed to the glorification of the sons of Zadok in Ezekiel's scheme of restoration (Ezek. 40, 46; 43, 19; 44, 15; 48, 11) and to the degradation of all other priests to a lower order of clergy excluded from higher sacerdotal functions and privileges. Jeremiah's ancestry, but also his distrust of an institutionalized faith and of hierarchic preferment, his emphasis upon right rather than rite, would have inclined him more toward the enemies of ecclesiastical prerogatives, the Pharisees. Of course this employment of a later term for earlier developments must be taken *cum grano salis*; the Pharisees and Sadducees, as two clearly aligned antagonistic camps, are not known to us before the Hasmonaean revolt: but the forces, social and religious, that gave birth to the conflicting parties must have been at work in earlier periods as well. In that sense one may speak of Ezekiel's Sadduceeism, subscribing to the widely accepted surmise which connects the sons of Zadok with the Sadducees.³³ The first adherents of their party may

³³ See A. Geiger, *Urschrift*, 1857, p. 102, etc., and in his *Sadduzäer und Pharisäer*, Breslau, 1863 (see the summary of Geiger's views by Samuel Poznanski in Abraham

well have come from the circles of the priestly aristocracy of Zadok's lineage, and in time its membership may have extended itself to the wealthy landowners³⁴ and influential laity whom community of interest and frequently marriage alliances associated with the sacerdotal nobility. Since Geiger, who first lent to this identification his brilliant imagination and learning, the guess has been ventured that Ezekiel prefigures the characteristics of caste and outlook known later as Sadduceeism.

A few instances may be cited. According to Leviticus 21, 14 the high priest may marry only a virgin 'me-'ammaw,' that is, as Geiger³⁵ has proved, from his own priestly tribe. Ezek. 44, 22 permits the choice 'miz-zera' beth Israel,' from among any of the tribes. The same passage in the Pentateuch forbids the high priest to take a widow for his wife, while Ezekiel allows the marriage with a "widow that had a priest before." In Kîddušin 78b we find the attempt, incorporated in the Targum and the masoretic accents, at a reconciliation of Ezekiel with the words of the Torah: the first part of his verse treats of the high priest, who is forbidden to marry any widow, even one of a priest, while the end of the passage speaks of 'mikkohen,' interpreted 'miš-šear kohanim,' that is, all the other ordinary clergy who may take maidens or widows from among the entire house of Israel. But this is only a fine example of harmonistic skill. Aptowitzer³⁶ has acutely detected the motive behind the legislation of Ezekiel, whom he styles "the panegyrist of the Zadokites," by attributing it to the quest for power of the new dynasty of priests. In order, by alliances with influential laymen, to strengthen their position against the dispossessed line of Ithamar, the priests of Zadok abandoned endogamy and allowed marriage with all other tribes. To preserve the bonds with the newly associated lay families in case of the priest's

Geiger, *Leben und Lebenswerk*, ed. by Ludwig Geiger, Berlin, 1910, pp. 356 ff.); also J. Wellhausen, *Die Pharisäer und die Sadducäer*, 2d ed., Hanover, 1924, pp. 45 ff.

³⁴ See Louis Finkelstein's original and stimulating article, 'The Pharisees: their Origin and their Philosophy,' in *Harvard Theological Review*, XXII, 1929, p. 188.

³⁵ 'Die gesetzlichen Differenzen zwischen Samaritanern und Juden,' ZDMG, XX, 1866, p. 561, and קבוצת מאמרים, pp. 131 f. See also V. Aptowitzer, 'Spuren des Matriarchats im jüdischen Schrifttum,' *Hebrew Union College Annual*, IV, pp. 290 f.

³⁶ *Parteipolitik der Hasmonäerzeit*, p. xxiii.

death, they similarly permitted the successor of the deceased to marry the widow.

Another bit of Sadduceeism, or of the older halakhah which Geiger's famous hypothesis identifies with Sadduceeism, is Ezek. 44, 31, "The priests shall not eat 'nebhelah uṭerephah'" which makes the rabbis in *Menaḥoth* 45a ask in surprise: "The priests? may Israelites eat of it (Deut. 14, 21)?" Rabbi Johanan finds the discrepancy so grave and offensive that he postpones its elucidation until the advent of Elijah. Another passage in the Talmud (*Hullin* 37b; 44b) reads into Ezek. 4, 14 some features of greater piety than is obligatory, praising the prophet's particular strictness in dietary matters, as if unable to see anything deserving of special merit or mention in his abstaining from 'nebhelah uṭerephah,' which is as a matter of course binding upon everyone. Geiger³⁷ assumes here (as in Lev. 22, 8) bits of archaic and sacerdotal legislation which declared the flesh of the carcass to be forbidden only to priests and not to laymen.

A further trace of Sadducean halakhah may be detected in Ezekiel's regulations for the daily offering. A *baraitha* in *Menaḥoth* 65a (scholion to *Megillath Ta'anith* 1, 1) knows of a victory of the Pharisees over the Sadducees, the latter contending that the cost of the daily burnt offering (Num. 28, 4) should be sustained by individuals, whereas the Pharisees maintained that it should be provided, this being a national sacrifice, by the public treasury. The Sadducean view is discernible in Ezek. 46, 13, where, even without the expressed reading of the Septuagint, it is the prince who provides for the 'tamid.'³⁸

One is tempted to surmise some relationship between the book of Ezekiel and that unknown sect of Damascus brought to light by Schechter.³⁹ The prophecy of Ezekiel seems to have enjoyed in that circle especial esteem: the very first lines of the Damascene fragment suggest Ezekiel's language (1, 3; cf. Ezek. 39, 23), chronology (1, 5; and 20, 15; cf. Ezek. 4, 5), and Zadokite bias

³⁷ 'Sadduzäer und Pharisäer,' in *Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben*, II, 1863, p. 22, and also *ZDMG*, XX, p. 566.

³⁸ See S. Krauss (note 7, above), p. 114.

³⁹ Documents of Jewish Sectaries: I. Fragments of a Zadokite Work, Cambridge, 1910.

(1, 11); and further reading in that cryptic document confirms the impression. The sectaries derive from Ezek. 13, 9 the custom of recording the names of all their members in a book (14, 4-7), while those who forsook the "unique teacher," the founder of the schism, are threatened, in Ezekiel's language, "not to be written in the writing of the house of Israel" (19, 35). As in Ezekiel, one finds in the Damascene document the term 'nasi' (5, 1) instead of 'melekh,' even when speaking of the Messiah (7, 20), who in rabbinic sources is usually referred to as king. Apart from other resemblances in idiom⁴⁰ and even orthography,⁴¹ which bespeak the fact that the prophet was studied diligently by these sectaries, their apotheosis of Zadokdom deserves especial attention. Zadok is called "the teacher of righteousness" (1, 11) and even "the holy anointed one" (6, 1), for it was he who in the days of Josiah restored the Torah, which after Joshua's death sank into oblivion (5, 5) — a statement strange and inexplicable unless the author of that sectarian writing, himself of the sons of Zadok,⁴² called by his eponymic name a later descendant of the line, the priest Hilkiah (2 Kings 22, 8; cf. 1 Chron. 5, 38 f.). Similarly, the haggadic exegesis of Ezek. 44, 15, even if Ginzberg's interpretation⁴³ be adopted, seems oddly chosen unless the name given to the "chosen ones of Israel who will rise at the end of the days," the sons of Zadok (4, 3 f.), meant something more to those sectaries than merely a neutral sound that could be played upon with disinterested and detached midrashic ingenuity. The frequent employment of 'šedek' ^{אֲדָמָה} (1, 1. 11. 16; 3, 15; 4, 17 etc.) seems deliberate rather than incidental, and suggests also an aetiological association.

And yet, in spite of all these Zadokite features and others still unmentioned, the identification of the Damascene schism

⁴⁰ Zadokite Fragment 4, 16 (תפש בהם בישראל) and Ezek. 14, 4-19; Zad. Fragm. 8, 12 and 18 (בני החוץ וטחי התפל) and Ezekiel 13, 10; Zad. Fragm. 12, 12 (ברית in the sense of marriage) and Ezek. 16, 8; cf. Ginzberg, Unbekannte Sekte, p. 141, note 2.

⁴¹ Ginzberg, p. 193, note 1: "Die Schreibweise מורבה in unserer Schrift (11, 8) ist nach Ezek. 43, 11 zu erklären."

⁴² See Aptowitz, p. xxviii.

⁴³ Ginzberg, pp. 19 and 367 f.

⁴⁴ See Rudolf Leszynsky, Die Sadduzäer, Berlin, 1912, pp. 161 f.

with Sadduceeism is a crude and misleading simplification. In legal and theological matters, Ginzberg has overwhelmingly demonstrated the basic affinity of its teaching with Pharisaism, notwithstanding some bits of archaic halakhah differing from Pharisaic custom and agreeing with the Samaritans, Falashas, and Karaites (for instance, the prohibition to marry one's niece, 5, 7), and despite the peculiar development of the sect which ended in utter severance from the "house of the law" (20, 13), that is, from Pharisaism. There seem to have existed yet other varieties of Judaism as well as other heresies than the few recorded in our scanty sources. This is proved by the Damascene sect itself: it would have entirely escaped our knowledge, were it not for a fortunate accident.

The matter deserves fuller treatment than can be accorded here; for our purpose it suffices to have shown that the book of Ezekiel was used in the Seleucid or Maccabae⁴⁵ era for pronouncedly schismatic doctrines. Even its Sadducean deviations from the standard halakhah constituted a reason serious enough for the rabbis to deny the book a place in the canon. That in face of such grave dangers of esoteric and sectarian teachings the Pharisaic rabbis nevertheless admitted it to the sacred Scriptures would be inconceivable, had there been the slightest doubt cast upon its authenticity.

(d) *Samaritan sympathies.* Torrey has, however, another explanation for the inclusion of the prophecy within the canon: in its final and falsified form it could be used as an "effective weapon of the arsenal against the Shechemites."⁴⁶ The re-fashioned book was one of the features of that literary movement in the third century B.C. which led to the formation of a sacred library in defence of the sanctuary at Jerusalem against the claims of its older adversary on Mount Gerizim. 'Pseudo-Ezekiel' confirms what "for more than twenty years past I have

⁴⁵ Eduard Meyer, *Die Gemeinde des Neuen Bundes im Lande Damaskus, eine jüdische Schrift aus der Seleucidenzeit* (Abhandlungen, Berlin Academy, 1919), argues for a date about 170 B.C., while Ginzberg puts the origin of the schism under Alexander Jannaeus (103-76 B.C.). See also W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter* (3d ed. by Hugo Gressman), Tübingen, 1926, p. 5, note 5, and R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, Oxford, 1913, II, pp. 790 ff.

⁴⁶ Pseudo-Ezekiel, p. 103.

been endeavoring to show," namely, "that the break between the Jews and the Samaritans . . . brought about a most important turning point in the history of Palestine, and left a deep mark on the literature of the Old Testament."⁴⁷

Is this interesting hypothesis, offered not merely as a guess, but as a mature product of prolonged study, supported by some evidence at least from Samaritan sources if not from Jewish ones? Do the former know something about the authenticity of Ezekiel, so unanimously confirmed by all rabbinic traditions? Strange to say, our author has not only disregarded the ample rabbinic records but also avoided any examination of Samaritan traditions. Would the Samaritans, to whom the fiction of the Babylonian sojourn left no standing-ground, have nothing to say against this fraudulent distortion of historic truth in favor of their deadly enemy? Would not silence in a question so vital and a struggle so passionate work against the Samaritan claims? Would it not prove in days of old to the community in Jerusalem, and in our day to the inquiring student of history, that the Chronicler's invention was not altogether "lacking any basis of fact"?⁴⁸ Fortunately, amid the eloquent silence of Samaritan tradition there are clues pointing to more definite information.

The agreements in doctrine and practice between the Sadducees and the Samaritans have often been discussed, and have been advanced in support of the identification of older halakhah with beliefs and customs of the conservative and priestly party both in Judaea and Shechem. In fact, the close relationship of Sadducees and Samaritans, as well as the Pharisaic assignment of both to much the same category, early gave rise to the surmise of some historical affiliations between the two sects.⁴⁹

In view of Ezekiel's Sadducean tendencies his agreements with Samaritan traditions deserve attention. The Samaritans claim for their high priests unbroken genealogical continuity from Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, while Eli, of the rival line of

⁴⁷ Ibid. p. 102.

⁴⁸ Ibid. p. 105.

⁴⁹ Geiger, *passim*; see Poznanski (above, note 33), 357 ff.; Wellhausen, p. 72; James A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans, the Earliest Jewish Sect*, Philadelphia, 1907, pp. 72, 187 f.

Ithamar, is branded as having begun that break with the sanctuary on Mount Gerizim which led to the building of the temple in Jerusalem and culminated in the final schism in the time of Ezra.⁵⁰ The sons of Zadok, glorified in the book of Ezekiel, are also descended from Phinehas and Eleazar, while the line of Ithamar, along with the other clergy, is degraded by the prophet "because they ministered . . . before their idols and caused the house of Israel to fall into iniquity; therefore . . . they shall bear their shame, and their abominations which they have committed" (Ezek. 44, 12.13).

Ezekiel's curious geographical allocation of the various tribes and his exclusion of Transjordanian have often aroused surprise. It is therefore not without significance that Ezekiel deviates from Judaeon accounts in the direction of Samaritan tradition. There is a strange agreement between Ezekiel's demarcation of Palestine and the one found in the Samaritan Hebrew Book of Joshua. "Ezekiel," says Gaster, "takes precisely the same boundaries for Palestine — on the east the Jordan, on the west the sea — and he divides the land into portions one after the other from north to south, following almost the same lines of demarcation as those found in the Samaritan Joshua, with the difference that as he has to place twelve tribes instead of nine and a half, he transfers Reuben and Gad to the south and adds Issachar also, whilst Dan is northernmost. It is not likely that this similarity is a mere coincidence, and it is not at all probable that the prophet Ezekiel repeated the division of the land actually made by Joshua when he delineated a repetition of that action."⁵¹ While Gaster adduces the parallelism of the geographical disposition in Ezekiel among his other proofs for the high antiquity and the genuineness of the Samaritan Joshua, for us it suffices to have observed that our prophet agrees with Samaritan, as opposed to Judaeon, traditions.

Furthermore, it has long been noted, and used as an argument

⁵⁰ Moses Gaster, *The Samaritans*, London, 1925, pp. 8 ff.; Aptowitzer, p. xxviii and the sources he quotes: Samuel Kohn, *De Pentateucho Samaritano eiusque cum versionibus antiquis nexu*, Lipsiae, 1865, p. 54, note; Adolf Poznanski, *Schiloh, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Messiaslehre*, Leipzig, 1904, I, p. 285; A. Cowley, 'Some Remarks on Samaritan Literature and Religion,' *Jewish Quarterly Review*, VIII, 1896, p. 572.

⁵¹ Gaster, pp. 138-139.

for the possible Samaritan origin of chapters 40–48 of Ezekiel, as first guessed by Vogel,⁵² that according to the new scheme of the prophet the future temple is to be established not on its former site within the city of Jerusalem but in the centre of Palestine. The text is so vague and oracular that an even bolder assertion of the prophet's true choice could have been ventured. Gaster says: "Anyone who studies his description of the Temple to be and the place in which it is to be erected in the future, will find that he rejects Jerusalem and selects a central spot in Palestine, which could be nothing else but Sichem or Mount Garizim. Whether that name actually occurred originally and was afterwards left out, or whether it is a mere allusion to be interpreted later on, must be left an open question."⁵³ The text before us does not warrant such a statement, for it locates the future temple between Judah and Benjamin, in the centre of the Terumah, the holy portion of land set apart for the priests (Ezek. 48, 8.10; 45, 4). However, there remains the striking fact that Ezekiel had dared to suggest the removal of the sanctuary northward from Jerusalem, its hallowed site for centuries. The prophet's motives may have been manifold: the reformer's will to greater holiness and isolation from profane folk and mundane city life, perhaps also a mania for diagrams and geometrical symmetry, or indeed, as some passages seem to suggest, the larger aim of a reconciliation between the northern and southern tribes: "I will make them one nation in the land upon the mountain of Israel; and one king shall be king to them all: and they shall be no more two nations, neither shall they be divided into two kingdoms any more at all" (Ezek. 37, 22). The secular ruler will be a descendant of the glorious dynasty of old: "my servant David shall be their prince forever" (Ezek. 37, 25), but the temple would be established in the centre of Palestine, as might even be inferred from the solemnly repeated words of the same chapter: "my sanctuary shall be *in the midst of them* for evermore (vss. 26, 28).

It has often been pointed out that the entire book betrays warm affection for northern Israel. No trace can be found in the prophecy of the Judæan "arsenal against the Shechemites";

⁵² See above §1, note 11.

⁵³ Gaster, p. 15.

no mention whatever is made of heathen elements brought from foreign lands which have contaminated and supplanted the ancient race or faith. Not the least doubt is cast upon the purity of descent of the northern tribes.⁵⁴ In the geographical distribution of Palestine all the tribes of northern Israel are represented, as if the prophet did not know or were unmindful of the foreign garrisons which, according to Judaeon records, were brought in to take the place of the former inhabitants of the north. By word and symbolic action Ezekiel preaches the unity and equality of the two branches of the one tree (37, 17 f.), both of the same value and import and of similar fate in exile and restoration. The allegory of chapter 23 speaks of Samaria and Jerusalem as of two co-equal wives of God, which hardly bespeaks a belief in the uniqueness of Zion and its exclusive religious monopoly.⁵⁵ One can even detect in Ezekiel's stern rebukes of the southern tribes, as in those of the seer of Anathoth, an almost northern bias: thine elder sister Samaria hath not committed half of thy sins! (16, 45.51; cf. also 23, 11). No wonder that the vehement denunciation of Jerusalem and her abominations (chapter 16) aroused the public anger when read in synagogues:⁵⁶ it touched to the quick not only the national vanity but even the proper self-esteem of the people of Judaea. Nor is it strange, in view of such utterances and the prophet's dependance upon northern traditions, that the hypothesis has been advanced that Ezekiel's home and origin are to be looked for not at all in Judaea, as hitherto assumed, but among the northern tribes. Gaster,⁵⁷ who promised to substantiate this hypothesis by a special examination of Ezekiel's legal code (so

⁵⁴ Ibid. pp. 12 f.

⁵⁵ Cf. Hölscher, pp. 11, 19: "Die im hebräischen Altertum vorkommende Ehe mit zwei Schwestern (vgl. Lea und Rahel) war später verboten (vgl. Lev. 18, 18). Man sieht das Hesekiel (23, 2) noch mit beiden Füßen auf dem Boden der antiken vor-exilischen Religion steht . . . Auch hier ist ersichtlich, dass er von der prinzipiellen Sonderstellung Zions als allein rechtmässiger Kultstätte im Sinne des Deuteronomiums noch nichts weiss" — an argument which Hölscher cites for his postexilic theory of Deuteronomy, see his 'Komposition und Ursprung des Deuteronomiums,' ZAW, XL, 1922, pp. 161-255.

⁵⁶ Mishnah Megillah iv, 9; Tos. Megillah iv, 34; Megillah 25b; cf. also Sanhedrin 44b and 104b.

⁵⁷ Gaster, p. 15.

far as I am aware, not yet published) finds the northern origin of the prophet corroborated by the strange way in which Ezekiel is spared in Samaritan polemic writings. Though they have no words of opprobrium strong enough for the 'Beth Maktash' ('house of shame') on Mount Zion, and though full of scorn for the prophets at Jerusalem, all of whom they reject and denounce as sorcerers, wizards, and heretics, yet, curiously enough, the name of Ezekiel is never mentioned.⁵⁸

In other words, the support given by Ezekiel to the "late and utterly untrustworthy Jewish apologist" who devised the legend of the Babylonian sojourn "in defence of the Jewish church and vindication of its authority as the unique repository of a divine literary tradition,"⁵⁹ is not diminished by a single word gainsaid from the rival church at Shechem, otherwise not uncommunicative or sparing whenever the schism in Jerusalem is involved. They must have rightly felt that if the prophet's book had anything at all to do with the Samaritan-Jewish conflict, their cause, rather than that of the Jews, would benefit by it. *It is the arsenal of Shechem rather than that of Jerusalem to which Ezekiel, if at all, added ammunition.* Nowhere is the utter fallacy of Torrey's Samaritan theory more strikingly demonstrated than in the case of Ezekiel: exactly the reverse view is true.

Disregarding entirely the strange agreement of Ezekiel with Samaritan traditions, or even the offensive anti-judaean utterances in chapters 16 and 23, the mere fact of Ezekiel's questioning at all the immemorial supremacy of Jerusalem and its sole right to the central sanctuary, along with his suggestion to move the temple away from its age-old sacred place northward, in the direction, as it were, of the adversary on Mount Gerizim, constituted an innovation daring, dangerous, altogether disadvantageous to the claims of Jerusalem as the unique bearer of the old tradition. For this alone the book, even if authentic, could have been denied a place in the canon. But if the book was spurious, no sane mind could have supposed that by the

⁵⁸ Ibid. p. 11. On some other parallels in Samaritan tradition to Ezekiel (23, 13 f. and especially chapter 47, the mystical river which descends east from Gerizim) cf. Montgomery, p. 238.

⁵⁹ Pseudo-Ezekiel, p. 107.

fraud, easily detectable, of remaking a pseudepigraph into a Babylonian utterance, he could advance the cause which the book so gravely damaged, namely, the vindication of the religious monopoly of Jerusalem.

(e) *Theological offenses*. Something must be said regarding the last group of doubts and difficulties in the book of Ezekiel, which likewise may account for the rabbinic hesitancy about including the prophet within the sacred library. Spinoza did not fail to point to some such offenses, for example, the passage in Ezek. 14, 9 which does not shrink from saying *deum hominem aliquando falsis revelationibus decipere*, or the discrepancy between Exodus 34, 7 and Ezek. 18, 4.⁶⁰ If the former difficulty could be circumvented, as Rashi's example teaches, by the edifying lesson: "to him who is willing to defile himself, doors are open,"⁶¹ in the case of the second the rabbis frankly admitted religious progress on the part of the later Scripture: they said that Moses' threat of visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children was annulled⁶² by Ezekiel's godlier doctrine that only "the soul that sinneth, it shall die" (Ezek. 18, 5).

But there were other grave religious and moral difficulties in Ezekiel which could not be so easily disposed of, to mention only the famous and startling passage, Ezek. 20, 24 f., declaring God's awful punishment of his people through ungodly statutes whereby they cannot live — a sentence that has shocked generations with its tragic grandeur.⁶³

Torrey finds the passage universally misunderstood: it contains not declarative sentences, but interrogations, to which a negative answer is expected. "The customary reading . . . brings the interpreter into very grave difficulties, without the compensation of any religious or moral gain."⁶⁴ This is an easy and not unknown solution: it can be found in the theological and apologetic treatise of Manasseh ben Israel, 'Conciliador,'⁶⁵

⁶⁰ Tractatus theologico-politicus, c. II, §7 and §49.

⁶¹ Shabbath 104a, etc.

⁶² Makkoth 24a.

⁶³ See the dissertations, Joh. à Marck, De vero sensu loci Ezech. xx, 25, Franequerae, 1675, and Alb. Joach. de Krakevitz, De Statutis non bonis Israeli a Deo datis, Rostochi, 1699.

⁶⁴ Pseudo-Ezekiel, p. 90.

⁶⁵ Conciliador, Leviticus, Quaest. 139, Amsterdam, 1650 (translated by E. H. Pindo, London, 1842, I, p. 229). See also A. J. de Krakevitz, p. 14: Ezek. xx, 25 "per

where the interpretation of the troublesome passage, "by way of surprise and astonishment," is perfectly legitimate and squares the discrepancy with Lev. 18, 5. But does a scientific investigation, in which one looks not for religious or moral exercises, but for strict philological inquiry, permit of such an easy escape into what is theologically a *lectio facilior*? With all its grotesqueness, the talmudic use⁶⁶ of the offensive Scripture bespeaks philological conscience and regard for Hebrew syntax. Of course, everyone understands the temptation to delete the startling sentence from the book,⁶⁷ or, since the idea is not one ordinarily met with in spurious writings, to lessen its shock by an old theological evasion. Kittel justly asks: "Wo wäre der Redaktor oder Epigone, der es wagen konnte, ein Wort von solch überragender Kühnheit auszudenken? Nur ein Geist von dem grandiosen Ausmass des wirklichen Ezechiel konnte sich derartige Gedanken herausnehmen."⁶⁸

This must have been the attitude of the rabbis also when they decided to admit into the inner circle of the synagogue a book bristling with so many grave offenses. They bowed before a true seer and teacher in ancient Israel, whose great services saved a people in a dangerous historic crisis. The rabbis must have felt that one who had left so indelible a mark in the life and memory of his people has the right of genius to some contradictions and deviations from the standard, and also that he is entitled to that patient study and loving exegesis which will ultimately show his teachings to conform with the laws of the synagogue. Had but the slightest doubt been known as to the genuineness of the book, the indulgent attitude of the rabbis would be wholly inexplicable. But even with the most assured certainty of the prophetic authority and authenticity of Ezekiel, it is but natural that not all the ancient teachers should be willing to give canonical sanction to a book harboring so many

interrogationem, quasi dicat, omnino bona (sc. statuta) ipsis dedi, si ea servassent, sicut Ezek. xxviii, 3: ecce sapiens tu per Daniele?" Cf. Pseudo-Ezekiel, pp. 88 f.

⁶⁶ Berakhoth 24b; Megillah 32a.

⁶⁷ As Hölscher did (p. 110), incurring the just reproach of Rudolph Kittel, Geschichte des Volkes Israel, III, 1, p. 169, note 2.

⁶⁸ R. Kittel, p. 169.

ritual and theological offenses. The memory of such a reluctance seems to be preserved in the rabbinic record, when it singles out so honorably the vindicator of Ezekiel. For it seems that the Talmud praises Hananiah ben Hezekiah not so much for his industry, of which the three hundred jars of oil are symbolic, as for his extraordinary liberality and breadth of view. He more than others had reason to deny Ezekiel's claim to sacredness. The 'Scroll of Fasts' betrays, as is known, outspoken anti-sadducean sentiment. If it comes in reality from his circle, one can safely assume that Hananiah must have felt keen displeasure at granting the authority of Scripture to Sadducean heresy. Moreover, he was prominent in the school of Shammai, and was bound by his party's stricter views on the canonization of some books finally admitted to the sacred library. His broadmindness seemed therefore to the rabbis of the Talmud doubly praiseworthy, for against his own inclinations and against his party's peculiar rigidity, he took the larger and more liberal view and urged the inclusion of Ezekiel within inspired literature. The character of this man, renowned for piety and patriotism, even more than the results of his exegesis, saved our prophecy from entombment.

There remain a few other references to rabbinic sources in *Pseudo-Ezekiel* which require correction. The well-known passage in Baba Bathra 15a contains, indeed, food for thought: "The men of the Great Synagogue wrote ('kathebhu') Ezekiel, the Twelve Prophets, Daniel, and Esther." As for the Twelve Prophets, Torrey finds the statement confirmed by modern biblical scholarship: "It is of course partly the redaction of the 'book' that is intended." "The pronouncement as to Ezekiel, however, is not merely unexpected, it is truly startling. . . . For the supposition that a *redaction* of the prophecy is intended, there is no warrant in the book itself. . . . It is a very markedly uniform and monochrome composition, as the great majority of interpreters have seen and said."⁶⁹ In support, a citation is given from Smend's commentary published in 1880, concluding that the strict progress of ideas in the book of Ezekiel makes it

⁶⁹ *Pseudo-Ezekiel*, pp. 19-20.

very probable that the entire prophecy was written *in einen Zuge*. From the quotation on the well-considered plan of the book of Ezekiel the following words of Smend are omitted: "man könnte kein Stück herausnehmen, ohne das ganze Ensemble zu zerstören."⁷⁰ It is easy to see that the author of *Pseudo-Ezekiel* could not well use Smend's whole sentence, for is it not he who himself excises from many a chapter of the prophecy an entire series of intercalations, a considerable number of pieces, "*ohne das ganze Ensemble zu zerstören*"? But if the book of Ezekiel embodies, as Torrey maintains, the work of two writers, the author of the original pseudepigraph and the 'Babylonian' redactor, Torrey's other statement that for the supposition of a redaction there is no warrant in the book itself seems inconsistent. But there is a more serious objection to be made: it seems strange to find a scholarly treatise in 1930 seriously debating views held half a century ago and long discarded as antiquated or pre-scientific. Torrey surely must have known, as his appended bibliography proves, that "the great majority of interpreters" in our century, whatever their other differences, overwhelmingly agree that the book of Ezekiel, not unlike other prophetic books, shows undeniable evidence of redaction.⁷¹ The statement in Baba Bathra is corroborated by modern literary analysis of Ezekiel: his book, like the Twelve Prophets, was 'written,' that is, collected and edited, by that

⁷⁰ Rudolf Smend, *Der Prophet Ezechiel*, Leipzig, 1880, p. xxi. A. Bertholet, quoted by Torrey (p. 20), does not accept the thesis of Smend, citing a few reasons "gegen die Annahme einer einheitlichen Konzeption" (*Das Buch Hiesekiel*, Freiburg i. B., 1897, p. xxii). Cf. also J. Böhner, 'Die prophetische Heilspredigt Ezeekiels,' in *Theol. Stud. und Krit.*, 74, 1901, pp. 177 and 185, note.

⁷¹ It would be useless to register even the most important commentators. It may suffice to state that Torrey's own list of the principal works consulted by him contains not a single book published in the present century which has been able to explain the text of Ezekiel without the assumption of redaction. See R. Kraetzschmar, *Das Buch Ezechiel*, Göttingen, 1900, p. xiii; D. Rothstein, in *Kautzsch's Heilige Schrift*, 4th ed., Tübingen, 1922, I, 871 f.; Johannes Herrmann, *Ezechiel*, Leipzig, 1924, p. vii. Torrey's list can be easily expanded: Budde, *Gesch. der hebräischen Litteratur*, pp. 154 f.; Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, III, p. 135; R. Kittel, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, III, 1, pp. 149 and 160; Paul Heinisch, *Das Buch Ezechiel*, Bonn, 1923, p. 18, who even declares that Ezekiel evidences no "planvolle Anlage" — not to mention S. Mowinckel (*Zur Komposition des Buches Jeremia*, 1914, p. 4; cf. also *Ezra den Skriftdlaerde*, 1916, pp. 125 ff.) and Hölcher, who see in Ezekiel more redaction than original prophecy.

authoritative body of scholars, known in rabbinical tradition as the men of the Great Synagogue, whose existence in Jerusalem of the third century B.C. Torrey himself finds it necessary to assume.

Yet he reads into the innocent passage "a most significant skepticism as to the authorship of the entire prophecy." The Jewish rabbis seem "to have been quite clear in their opinion that the book which we have was *not* written in Babylonia." ⁷² Jewish tradition of old "recognizes no Babylonian prophet Ezekiel." ⁷³

Quite the reverse. Old tannaitic sources ⁷⁴ assent to what is for them an unwelcome truth, namely, that there lived an ancient prophet outside of the Holy Land, although, both in the patriotic sentiment of the folk and the theological notions of the learned, Palestine alone was held to have the monopoly of prophetic inspiration. ⁷⁵ In the eyes of the rabbis, Ezekiel was, as it were, an uncomfortable witness to the contrary: he questioned Palestine's exclusive privilege of prophecy. The following bit of ancient gossip in Mo'ed Katan 25a bears quite unintended testimony: When R. Huna died, R. Abba thus began his eulogy: "Our master was predestined to have the glory of God rest upon him, but Babylonia prevented it." R. Nahman bar Hisa, in youthful dislike of the obligatory mendacity of funeral orations, interjected with a biblical citation: "The word of the Lord came unto Ezekiel . . . in the land of the Chaldaeans!" (Ezek. 1, 3). His father, Hisa, afraid of public nuisance, silenced the young fanatic of truth by striking him upon the sandal: "Have I not taught you not to annoy people? The scripture speaks of days of old," not of our day. The elder tannaitic records ^{76a} read into the same verse of Ezekiel another defence of Palestine's prerogative of prophecy: Ezekiel's career began in the Holy Land, and therefore God's word could come upon him in exile as well. In fine anticipation of modern

⁷² Pseudo-Ezekiel, p. 19.

⁷³ Ibid. p. 23.

⁷⁴ Mekhilta, Bo i b; Targ. Ezek. 1, 3.

⁷⁵ Ginzberg, The Legends of the Jews, VI, p. 411, note 65. Compare Jehudah Halevi, Kusari, II, §§13 and 14.

^{76a} See note 74, above.

biblical research the rabbis hold that the arrangement of the chapters in Ezekiel is not chronological, for the second and, according to others, the seventeenth chapters of the book contain the prophet's earliest utterance,⁷⁶ a statement which will occupy us later on.

For the present it suffices to have demonstrated that the oldest rabbinic tradition acknowledges the existence of an ancient prophet in Babylonia, though the rabbis would have welcomed his Palestinian origin with the same eagerness with which the modern scholar rejoices in a fact confirming his theory. Yet the rabbis wanted to be true, not merely to have their theory proved right: they accepted the unwelcome evidence, even when it imperiled one of their cherished doctrines. They record the historical fact of a great and truly inspired prophet of ancient Israel upon whom the glory of God rested, contrary to their theory, outside of the Holy Land.

In conclusion, Torrey is right in assuming that a student of old would "undoubtedly . . . have given to the existing learned tradition of his own people as to the authorship of the book greater weight than our modern scholars are willing to give."⁷⁷ He would easily have found out that Ezekiel's is not altogether a Scripture "profitable"⁷⁸ for religious instruction in the synagogue: it contains flagrant contradictions with the words of the Torah, and some of these contradictions were held by the best minds of rabbinism forever unsolvable; it gave rise to esoteric, occult speculations forbidden by the synagogue; it lent scriptural support to Sadducean heresy and to even more sectarian teachings, leading, as in the case of the Damascene schism, to formal secession from rabbinic Judaism; it was capable of supplying a deadly weapon to the rival church at Shechem which questioned the uniqueness of Jerusalem and its sole claim to genuine religious tradition; in addition it bristles with grave theological offenses. How overwhelming must have been the attestation of the prophetic authority and authenticity of Ezekiel, if, in spite of such serious doubts and dangers, the ancient rabbis admitted his book to the canon!

⁷⁶ Mekhilta, Shirah 7, 40b; cf. also Tos. Sota 6, 11.

⁷⁷ Pseudo-Ezekiel, p. 18.

⁷⁸ Ibid. p. 14.

4. *The Ancient crux interpretum: Ezekiel 1, 1*

An ancient puzzle that has staggered centuries of exegesis lies in Ezekiel's first verses. "Sphinxgleich an der Schwelle dieses an Problemen und Schwierigkeiten überreichen Buches lagernd, geben gleich die drei ersten Verse dem Leser Rätsel auf, an deren Lösung Generationen schon vergeblich sich abgemüht haben." Thus writes Kraetzschmar,¹ whose own solution of two recensions has added another futile attempt to the long list of former explanations reviewed and rejected in his commentary. His question therefore remains unanswered unto this day: "Bleibt wirklich nichts weiter übrig, als mit Kuenen . . . resigniert auf eine endgültige Lösung des Rätsels zu verzichten?"²

Torrey offers a new solution to the ancient riddle, or rather finds no riddle here at all: "The meaning of the date is obvious and certain. The year is, as usual, that of the reigning monarch, who in this case can only be one of the last kings of Judah."³ By an appended list of kings, arbitrarily starting from Hezekiah, the author believes himself to have demonstrated that Ezek. 1, 1 is quite unambiguous: the prophecy originally dated from the thirtieth year of Manasseh. The fact seems to Torrey so obvious because no other king save the righteous Josiah, who is excluded by the content of the prophecy, reigned for thirty years. But had Torrey started his list some thirty years earlier, the date of the prophet could equally well relate to another long-lived king, Azariah, in whose days also "the people sacrificed and burnt incense still on the high places" (2 Kings 15, 4). But there is a much graver objection to Torrey's conjecture: he is unable to adduce even a solitary bit of evidence, a single instance in all the literature of the Bible, of such a custom of dating. Everywhere the particular era according to which the date is reckoned is at least once stated, and hence need not be repeated in other dates of the same writing (Haggai 1, 1; 2, 1; Neh. 1, 1; 2, 1, etc.). This principle seems to apply with even more force to a pseudepigraphon, written almost half a thousand years

¹ Das Buch Ezechiel, Göttingen, 1900, p. 1.

² Ibid. p. 2.

³ Pseudo-Ezekiel, p. 63.

later than its ostensible date. Did not the writer strangely over-estimate the acuteness of the Jerusalem readers in 230 B.C. (or even later) in assuming that "in the thirtieth year," without any further definition, would be understood to refer to a wicked king in remote antiquity, Manasseh? How could he at the very beginning of the book leave to a vague and doubtful guess the exact time and circumstance of his narrative? Torrey's assertion that "the meaning of the date is obvious and certain" is sufficiently refuted by two thousand years of biblical exegesis, which thought of all — and the quaintest — dates save that of Manasseh's reign. His hypothesis is therefore unacceptable without the assumption that the first verse of Ezekiel originally contained a clear reference to Manasseh, king of Judah, which was later dropped because it plainly contradicted the refashioned prophecy of the exile. But it is Torrey's great merit as against many biblical scholars that he rejects the aid of scissors: "Of course the most conspicuous source of trouble could have been removed once for all by the simple (even though dangerous) expedient of excising from the first verse of the first chapter the words 'in the thirtieth year.' But *this was the original date*, the one prefixed by the prophet himself, and even the thought of destroying it would be impious."⁴ But without assuming the omission of the reference to Manasseh the date is unintelligible and Torrey's hypothesis futile.

Hence the entire structure erected upon this single assumption falls to the ground: the serious opposition to the canonization of Ezekiel was not Ezek. 1, 1, "a *crux* of the very first magnitude, one in fact on which the fate of the whole book depends."⁵ Nor is the explanation of Jerome's remark in his much quoted Epistle to Paulinus tenable: "The only way of calling off such [i. e. critical] investigators from the seat of danger without actually pointing it out was to devise a warning which, while including it, should divert attention from it. This was admirably done, by putting the danger-sign on both ends of the book, with the chief emphasis on the closing chapters."⁶ This is splendid speculation, resting, not on nothing, but on a pal-

⁴ Ibid. pp. 22 f.; see also p. 108.

⁵ Ibid. p. 17.

⁶ Ibid. p. 23.

pable blunder. There is in Hagiga 13a, on the very page quoted by Torrey, an explicit statement of the rabbis as to which verses of the first chapter in Ezekiel were the "seat of danger" warned against: they are verses 27 and 28, containing the description of the deity. The perfectly innocent first verses of the chapter were never objected to, and could be studied freely and discussed without any hindrance whatever.⁷

Moreover, the rabbis found no difficulty in explaining "the one great obstacle in the way of the adoption" of Ezekiel into the canon, "the telltale contradiction in date and setting" which "could not be removed."⁸ A glance in the Targum or in the Seder 'Olam c. 26⁹ will convincingly show that the rabbis succeeded in harmonizing the two dates of Ezekiel with ease and with perfect congruity of dating, which cannot be said of the recent interpretations of the verse. In addition, their explanation strikes a surprisingly modern, almost a Wellhausenian note: "in the thirtieth year" since the discovery of the book of the law by the high priest Hilkiah (622 B.C.) — which fits most accurately the date given in vs. 2 (592 B.C.). The "formidable"¹⁰ date, which "stands alone among the puzzles of the Old Testament" "in the startling directness with which it stares every reader in the face, with no interval to lessen the shock,"¹¹ this bugbear of modern Old Testament professors, failed, as we see, to scare the rabbis, who found no difficulty whatever in reconciling the "two beginnings, mutually exclusive."¹² I say 'reconcile,' for their business was religious and harmonistic exegesis, not historical and philological criticism. Although some modern scholars¹³ have adopted and defended

⁷ Ab uno disce omnes: Torrey explains some other literary problems in the Bible by similar camouflaging devices and pious frauds of the rabbis: see *The Second Isaiah*, p. 103 and note, proving that various sorts of 'locking-devices' and 'dovetailing' were "of course" familiar in Jerusalem.

⁸ Pseudo-Ezekiel, p. 22.

⁹ Ed. B. Ratner, Wilna, 1897, p. 115.

¹⁰ Pseudo-Ezekiel, p. 22.

¹¹ Ibid. p. 18.

¹² Ibid. p. 17.

¹³ Ideler, Hävernick, Grätz, Herrmann, etc.: in priestly circles the custom of dating after the Deuteronomic restoration "ist sachlich so verständlich wie möglich" (Herrmann, *Ezechiel*, Leipzig, 1924, p. 10); similarly Grätz, *MGWJ*, 1874, p. 518, where the date is even adduced as a sign of Ezekiel's antiquity. I should add that the Damascene fragment (5, 5) sees in 622 B.C. a most decisive turning point, namely, the rediscovery by Zadok of the entirely forgotten law.

(rightly, as the best thus far offered) the rabbinic interpretation, it is in fact untenable for the same reason as is Torrey's new hypothesis: without explicit statement no reader could have known to which era reference is made.

But must one, rejecting this latest attempt to unriddle the mystery of Ezekiel's first verse, acquiesce in Kuenen's¹⁴ resigned non liquet?

There is I believe a solution to the difficulty of Ezek. 1, 1, which, after so many centuries of futile exegesis, I hesitate to offer as 'obvious or certain.' Rather, following Jerome's exemplary restraint, I give it merely as a guess to be read *cum venia*: yet it seems to contradict none and to explain all of the scant bits of information at hand. *Sicut enim a perfecta scientia procul sumus, levioris culpa arbitramur saltem parum, quam omnino nihil dicere.*¹⁵

The crux in the first verses of Ezekiel disappears, when a dogmatic and wholly unwarranted prejudice, the survival of harmonistic exegesis of old, is discarded: namely, that the two dates must be squared. The better philological procedure would, it seems, invite to the opposite method: to preserve differences rather than to smooth them over. The content of verse 1 not only is unrelated to the vision described in the first chapter, but even seems to contradict it: "The heavens were opened," as Hans Schmidt has not failed to observe, "steht in leisem Widerspruch zu dem von fern kommenden Sturm," which causes him, however, only to dismiss the verse as a gloss.¹⁶ Similarly A. B. Ehrlich¹⁷ states: "Der Satz ist mir sehr verdächtig, weil in der ganzen folgenden Beschreibung nichts darauf hinweist, dass der von den Keruben getragene Thron JHVHs zur Zeit der Eröffnung dieser Vision sich im Himmel befand . . . Nach seiner ganzen Beschreibung ist der Thron, den Ezechiel schaute, nur für die Fortbewegung JHVHs bestimmt; wenn daher dieser Thron bei der Eröffnung der Vision im Himmel gewesen wäre, hätte hier gesagt sein müssen, dass

¹⁴ Historisch-kritische Einleitung, I, 2, p. 258.

¹⁵ Migne, P. L., XXV, 380.

¹⁶ Die grossen Propheten, Göttingen, 1915, p. 382.

¹⁷ Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel, Leipzig, 1912, V, p. 1.

der Prophet JHVH denselben besteigen sah, was aber nicht der Fall ist." But there is nothing 'verdächtig' here save the erroneous supposition that verse 1 must correspond in content with the remainder of the chapter. It is the heading of a separate and independent prophetic utterance, with different content and a different date.

A reconstruction of an oracle from its heading alone is of course hazardous, yet with the rest of Ezekiel's prophecy before us it may be suggestive enough for at least a surmise as to its content. "The heavens were opened" means in the light of Isaiah 63, 19 ("Oh that thou wouldest rend the heavens, that thou wouldest come down"; cf. also Genesis 28, 12 f. and numerous passages in later writings, for instance, 3 Macc. 6, 18; Testament of Levi 2, 6; Matt. 3, 16; Apoc. 4, 1) that, in contrast to Ezek. 8, 3 and 40, 2, God is in this vision *genitivus objecti*, or, in simpler language, that as the heavens opened the prophet beheld God. This answers a query often raised in the exegesis of chapters 10 and 11 of the book of Ezekiel: whither was the glory of God, on forsaking the doomed sanctuary, carried away on the wheels of the cherubim? The glory of God hardly remained (Ezek. 11, 23) "upon the mountain which is on the east side of the city," the Mount of Olives (Zech. 15, 4). Smend¹⁸ thought, in accordance with Ezek. 28, 14, that God departed for the holy mountain in the mythic north (cf. Isaiah 14, 13), but this, along with some other suggestions, was justly rejected by Kraetzschmar,¹⁹ who believes the prophet to be purposely vague in his localization and to indicate only the direction of the wilderness in the unbounded remoteness of which God hides. But in view of passages like Hos. 5, 15, Micah 1, 3 and Is. 18, 4, Ezek. 1, 1 suggests that God returned "to his place" in heaven "till they acknowledge their offence and seek my face": then he will again descend upon the restored sanctuary to dwell in the midst of Israel regenerated for evermore (Ezek. 43, 1-12; 44, 1-8). In short, Ezekiel in his vision saw God withdrawn to his dwelling-place in heaven, after his terrestrial abode had been reduced to ashes.

¹⁸ Der Prophet Ezechiel, Leipzig, 1880, p. 7. See also E. Klamroth, Die jüd. Exulanten in Babylonien, Leipzig, 1912, p. 63.

¹⁹ Kraetzschmar, p. 122.

Another puzzle in an ancient midrash²⁰ of the rabbis, strangely overlooked, seems not only to have preserved the testimony that this first verse headed an independent oracle, not identical with the following vision, but permits an even more definite guess as to its content. I have already referred to this midrash²¹ when speaking of the prophet's vision of the 'merkab-hah,' and of its true motive, which the rabbis quite correctly rendered in the following parable:²²

A king of flesh and blood, betrayed by his wife and children, drove them out of his house. Sometime later he called one of her sons and said to him: Son of a woman, come and I shall let you see my house and the house of my glory — apart from thy mother. Has my glory or my majesty lost anything, though your mother has left me? Thus God appeared to Ezekiel, as it is said, "Now it came to pass in the thirtieth year," etc. (Ezek. 1, 1). This is *one appearance*; while of the *second* the Scripture reads:²³ "And I looked, and behold a whirlwind came out of the north," etc. (Ezek. 1, 4). After he had shown him the entire 'merkabbah,' he said: This is my glory, and²⁴ I have exalted you above all the nations. Has my glory lost anything or the house which I built for you [in the future], as it is said: "And if they be ashamed of all that they have done, show them the form of the house," etc. (Ezek. 43, 11). You may think that I have no worshippers. Know then that there minister before me four hundred and ninety-six thousand angels who hallow my great name every day continually from sunrise to sunset singing: "Holy, holy, holy," and from sunset to sunrise singing: "Blessed be the glory of the Lord from his place." Not to mention the seventy languages [peoples] on earth [that pay homage unto me]. Why do you go in ways unseemly and do things indecent? Why do you not repent rather than bear suffering with contumacy?²⁵ But what shall I do? I have to do it for the sake of my great name by which you are called, as it is said: "But I wrought for my name's sake, that it should not be polluted before the heathen" (Ezek. 20, 14).

²⁰ Lev. R. 2, 8; Seder Eliyahu R. 7 (6), ed. Friedmann p. 34; Yalkut Shime'oni on Ezek. 2, 1.

²¹ See above, §3, note 29.

²² I follow in the main the text of Lev. R., seldom preferring a reading from E(liyahu R.) or the Y(alikut).

²³ זו שיטה ראשונה ובשנייה הוא [אבל בשנייה מהו: אומר (וארא) והנה רוח סערה 'šīṭṭa' means here: 'mode,' 'instance,' 'time,' 'vision'; cf. Samuel Japhe Ashkenazi in his commentary פיה תאר, Constantinople, 1648, p. 18a, who renders the term 'šīṭṭa' בפעם הראשונה; דרך שהראו ראשונה. Jehezkel Feiweil in his באור מהרי"ף (ed. Vilna) ib. states the disagreement between the midrash and Ezekiel most admirably: אע"פ דלפי פשוטו משמע דוארא ונ' קאי על ואראה מראות אלהים ולפרש מה היתה המראה והנה רוח סערה ונ' אבל מקום המדרש סובר דשתי ראיות הם ואראה מראות אלהים היא מראה ראשונה וארא והנה רוח סערה היא מראה שנייה.

²⁴ וכברתי, thus the version of Y, and according to פיה תאר' also of E: he suggests the reading והנבהתי.

²⁵ Thus E and Y.

This parable contains not only a true explanation of the priestly speculation in chapter 1 of Ezekiel, but, if the version in the three records be correct,²⁶ also a startling confirmation of our guess that the first verse headed an entire 'šittā,' or independent vision, unrelated to the vision beginning with verse 4 ff., which is expressly termed another 'šittā.' Is one entitled on the basis of the above midrash to suggest that Ezekiel beheld God with his innumerable host of angels and all the splendor of his heavenly abode, to which also the vision in Apoc. 4, 1 ff., dependent upon Ezekiel, seems to point? Does the parable of the rabbis permit a further guess, that God communicated to the prophet something about the reconstruction of the sanctuary, which, though delayed, will not fail to come true, and that therefore he, the prophet, should write down his utterances, if not for the edification of the captives, yet for instruction and enactment in the restored homeland? ²⁷ The guess goes further that the evidence justifies. Yet the book in its entirety seems to lack an introduction of some kind which might convey a similar commission. The appointment to the prophetic call in chapters 2 and 3 refers only to the *pars destruens* of the prophecy (chapters 1-24), in which there is "lamentation and mourning and woe" (Ezek. 2, 10). The oracles on the foreign peoples,

²⁶ Z. W. Einhorn in his פרוש מהרז"ו (ed. Vilna) notes that the versions in Lev. R. and E agree ואין הדברים מובנים כלל מהי שטה ראשונה ושנייה. He disposes of the difficulty by the ingenious hypothesis that the first 'šittā' refers to the entire chapter 1 of Ezekiel, and speaks of המרכבה העליונה, while the second 'šittā' treats of the vision of the future temple accompanied also by a vision of the merkabhab, whence the quotation from Ezek. 43. But such an hypothesis requires an elaborate emendation of a text attested in different sources; moreover, it fails to explain why, instead of the customary brevity in citing the Scriptures, our midrash should quote in extenso four consecutive verses of the same chapter.

The earliest editions confirm the passage in question: see Tanna debe Eliyyahu, Venice, 1598, p. 11a; Midrash R., ed. Cracow, 1583, p. 167, and ed. Salonika, 1595, p. 137b (the ed. Constantinople, 1512, and Venice, 1545, does not yet include the section from E). The Yalkut ed. Salonika, 1521, p. 108b; Venice, 1566, p. 88a and Cracow, 1595, ib. all read שנה instead of שטה, which is obviously a mistake or a mistaken correction of the lectio difficilior.

The editions quoted were consulted in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary, which has now, under the masterly leadership of Professor Alexander Marx, the greatest aggregation of rabbinic literature in the world. My thanks are also due to Mr. Isaac Rivkind on the staff of the library for his kind and able assistance.

²⁷ See Midrash Tanhuma, Šaw 14.

however, seem to be excluded rather than implied in Ezek. 3, 5-6, nor is there a single word presaging the entire set of consoling prophecies or the legislation of the future. This omission seems strange in a book bespeaking more planning and well-considered arrangement by author or editor than other prophetic books: yet even Jer. 1, 6.10 alludes to the prophecies on the nations and to oracles of comfort and reconstruction. A similar commission to write down his utterances for the memory of coming generations may perhaps have been a feature of the message received by Ezekiel when "the heavens were opened"²⁸ and God with his angels appeared to the prophet.

A further support for this conjecture is given by the date of Ezekiel's first verse. It reckons of course according to the era of the homogeneous chain of dates in the entire book. Since not otherwise stated, it must belong to the series of the thirteen other dates in the book of Ezekiel (1, 2; 8, 1; 20, 1; 24, 1; 26, 1; 29, 1; 29, 17; 30, 20; 31, 1; 32, 17; 33, 21; 40, 1). Though now heading the book, it refers to the era once plainly stated in the same writing, a customary way of dating with the writers and redactors of the Bible, as Neh. 1, 1 proves. In short the oracle beginning with verse 1 dates from the year 567 B.C., the thirtieth year of king Jehoiachin's captivity. It is, as prefaces to books are, the last utterance of the prophet, more than two and a half years later than his oracle in 29, 17 f., and five years later than his bold piece of reforming legislation at the end of the book (40, 1).²⁹

²⁸ Cf. Gen. R. 5, which singles out the miracle and states that it occurred at Ezekiel's command: צויתי את השמים שיפתחו לקול יחזקאל. Is this midrashic fancy or an echo of the original prophecy? Similarly, is there an error, or is there a trace of the lost oracle, in Sirach 49, 8? יחזקאל ראה מראה ויגד וני מרכבה. The different description in Ezek. 1 and 10 (also 43) seems to refer to a single kind of chariot; do "the divers kinds of chariot" include also the now missing 'šittā, or vision of the heavenly merkabba of which the midrash speaks? Israel Lévi, *L'Ecclésiastique*, Paris, 1898, p. 146, unable to make any sense on the basis of our present text of Ezekiel, suggests the reading רזי instead of וני.

²⁹ A. Merx, who understood the date of Ezek. 1, 1, sees in it but a misplaced fragment: "Die Wahrheit ist, dass Vers 1 nicht hierher gehört . . . Vers 1 ist ein ungehörig vorgesetztes Bruchstück" ('Der Wert der Septuaginta für die Textkritik des A. T. am Ezechiel aufgezeigt,' in *Jahrbücher für protest. Theologie*. IX, 1883, p. 73). Kuenen, p. 257, records a similar guess, before Merx, by Rutgers (*Het tijdvak der Bab. ballingschap*, pp. 149-152). The rejection of Ezek. 1, 1 as a stray fragment inserted by mistake

It is not difficult to account for the reason why the rest of the utterance was withdrawn. The rabbis could not include in the approved Scriptures for school and synagogue a chapter upon which an entire system of occult lore was based, "the work of the 'merkabhah.'" Regarded as not safe for immature minds to meddle with, these theosophic speculations were divulged only to the wise, who 'can understand it of his own accord,' and 'whose heart within him is in fear of sin.'³⁰ To grant general and free access to guarded mysteries which, if not properly interpreted, could but lead to wanton heresy, would surely have been felt by the rabbis to be preposterous. To 'withdraw' the chapter altogether, and thus in the course of time erase the remembrance of an ancient and authentic prophecy, which hearts truly pious and minds mature and mellowed found to contain inspiring religious teaching, seemed a sacrilege. The course wisely adopted was to leave some trace of the withdrawn chapter, a mark for the initiated that something had been omitted here to be confided orally to the choicest few, while disclosing to the general reader a summary indication of the content dealt with — all this in accordance with a rule, it seems, of long standing in teaching the 'merkabhah': "abhal moserin lo roše perakim."^{30a} The last two words usually translated 'summary,' 'outline,' etc., must originally, like every worn-out metaphor, have meant something concrete and literal: namely, the heading of a chapter. Such a 'roš perek' of a withdrawn prophetic chapter seems to be still preserved in that ancient crux interpretum at the threshold of the book of Ezekiel.³¹

at the beginning of the book, although it originally stood at its end, won little attention for the correct explanation of the date. Kraetzschmar, p. 4, rightly remarks that the suggested removal of Ezek. 1, 1 to the very end of the book "heisst den Knoten nur noch mehr verschlingen, statt ihn zu lösen." Who knows if Spinoza was not the first to guess at the true chronology of Ezek. 1, 1 when he said in *Tract. theol-pol.*, c. 10: "annus enim trigesimus, a quo hic liber incipit, ostendit prophetam in narrando pergere, non autem incipere" — which misled A. Klostermann to presuppose in Ezek. 1, 1 a remnant of the prophet's biography before reaching thirty years of age (*Theol. Studien und Krit.*, 1877, pp. 391-439).

³⁰ Hagigah 13a.

^{30a} Ibid.

³¹ Hagigah 13a seems to have preserved a slight intimation that chapter 1 of Ezekiel was known to contain more than the 28 verses transmitted. The scholars of Pumbeditha studied the 'work of the chariot' up to Ezek. 2, 1, that is, the whole of our text; yet they plead with R. Joseph to teach them (it seems) something more. The text is too

5. *The Siege of Tyre and Other Dubious Passages*

Having declared Ezek. 1, 2 to be "the first of a formidable series of interpolations,"¹ Torrey condemns, with Hitzig, the entire cycle of dates in the book, as "unecht und willkürlich ersonnen."² The pang it costs to abandon the whole series as unauthentic he tries to alleviate by a conjecture that permits some element to be genuine: while the years "are of course one and all false, . . . the *months and days*, on the contrary, may very possibly be those of the original work."³ The support the author believes himself to have found for this hypothesis is entirely unconvincing: for whichever thirteen or, as I believe, fourteen dates of days and months be chosen, their succession must cover a period much shorter than the twenty-two or twenty-five years of the present dating of the book.

However, a much more conclusive proof, demonstrating to the full the fallacy of the entire theory, is to be derived from Torrey's treatment of the much-discussed passage in Ezek. 29, 17 f. It is commonly held that the prophet in 29, 17-20 corrected his prophecy on chapter 26, or, in other words, frankly admitted that he had erred in a previous utterance — a confession which if true can be justly cited as a token of the prophet's veracity, for it was just as possible for him to get rid altogether of the prophecy so corrected or to modify it. This refusal to transform an older prediction in the light of more recent knowledge suggests that the book as a whole contains utterances faithfully reproduced.

This is, however, a mistaken interpretation, as Torrey has argued more than once in the past⁴ and again maintains in his

laconic to permit a more definite surmise. But that keen-witted R. Samuel Edels, who rarely permitted the escape of the subtlest incongruity, does not fail to remark: מִדֵּי בִי' בְּרֹאשֵׁי פְּרָקִים וְהֵם בִּקְשׁוּ לְגִמּוּר כּוֹלֵה מִלְחָמָה. In the light of the above interpretation of Ezek. 1, 2 even his answer may contain more truth than intended by its author: וְדִידְעִי' בִּי' בְּרֹאשֵׁי פְּרָקִים וְהֵם בִּקְשׁוּ לְגִמּוּר כּוֹלֵה מִלְחָמָה. It may be mentioned in this connection that some mss. (rejected by Rashi) quote instead of Ezek. 1, 27 a verse resembling now Ezek. 10, 8, either supposing that the work of the chariot extended thus far or reading in chapter 1 a similar verse now wanting. Comp. R. Rabbinovicz, *Variae lectiones, Hagigah*, p. 42.

¹ *Pseudo-Ezekiel*, p. 22.

² *Ibid.* p. 59.

³ *Ibid.* p. 60.

⁴ See *The Second Isaiah*, p. 96.

recent volume. "Ezekiel 26 predicts the successful siege and utter destruction of Tyre by Nebuchadrezzar. As a matter of fact, the siege of this city by Nebuchadrezzar was not successful, and — what is more to the point — Ezekiel himself says it in plain language and with emphasis that it was not. Ezek. 29, 18 ff. is a perfectly unambiguous statement of what we know to have been the case; the long siege of Tyre by the Babylonian king was a failure." ⁵ The date in Ezek. 29, 17 is therefore editorial manufacture and deserves no credence. "But this is not all. In the original prophecy there was no disagreement between the two oracles concerning Tyre, for in 26, 7 the words 'Nebuchadrezzar king of Babylon' are a manifest gloss, and the original prediction had in view quite a different conqueror" ⁶ (Alexander the Great). "No other hypothesis can stand beside this." ⁷

One is surprised at the definiteness of the author's conclusion, based upon a text in which centuries of exegesis had been able to read nothing more certain than that Nebuchadrezzar besieged Tyre not without success, but without reward or 'wages' commensurate with his prolonged years of siege: the famous treasures of the city were not despoiled as the prophet had promised (Ezek. 26, 12). From what other source does our author derive his assured "we know that the siege was a failure?" All the information from Berossos, Philostratus, and Menander quoted or used by Josephus ⁸ speaks but of the duration of the siege through thirteen years, not of its final outcome. One could with equal right assume that Tyre was conquered, but not plundered, by Nebuchadrezzar — to quote Jerome, ⁹ *capta urbe, nihil dignum labore suo invenit Nabuchodonosor in Tyro*. This interpretation seems even more probable, as F. C. Movers ¹⁰ with others has argued: "Das nur dieser Umstand, die unterlassene Plünderung, hervorgehoben wird, scheint allerdings vorauszusetzen, dass der Ausgang ein solcher war, wobei eine Plünderung hätte stattfinden können, mithin dass Tyrus

⁵ Marti-Festschrift, pp. 284–285.

⁶ Pseudo-Ezekiel, p. 62.

⁷ Marti-Festschrift, p. 285.

⁸ Josephus, Antiq. x. 11, 1; Contra Apion. i. 21 f.

⁹ Migne, P. L., XXV, 286.

¹⁰ Die Phönizier, Berlin, 1849, II, 1, p. 448.

entweder wirklich erobert, aber aus weisen Rücksichten schonend behandelt worden, oder sich gegen Bedingungen der Chaldäern unterworfen habe." That this is the only interpretation possible, we now know. In 1923, two years before Torrey's article in the *Marti-Festschrift*, a publication of his own Yale University Press established beyond doubt, on the basis of Babylonian records, what T. G. Pinches¹¹ in 1908 had found probable, that the siege of Tyre by Nebuchadrezzar was not fruitless. A cuneiform tablet published by R. P. Dougherty,¹² signed in the city of Šurru (Tyre) the 8th day of Ab, the 41st year of Nebuchadrezzar (564 B.C.), proves that the city was a vassal state of the king of Babylon, who had there a high commissioner of his own (nlil-shāpik-Ezēr) — a piece of evidence corroborated by four other tablets,¹³ which all confirm the fact that Tyre stood from 570 B.C. under the lordship of Nebuchadrezzar. Furthermore, another record of the Goucher College Babylon Collection,¹⁴ dating from the 33d year of the same king, bears testimony to the fact that Nebuchadrezzar had personally supervised the siege of Tyre in 572 B.C., shortly before its fall.¹⁵

In brief, the "palpable insertion"¹⁶ in Ezek. 26, 7 is not mistaken, it contains historic truth; on the other hand the confident assertion that in the original prophecy the warriors "from the north" meant the Macedonians and the "king of kings" Alexander the Great, is simply wrong.

It thus appears: (1) that the entire hypothesis that chapters

¹¹ The Old Testament in the Light of the Historical Records and Legends of Assyria and Babylonia, London, 1908, p. 401.

¹² Archives from Erech, Time of Nebuchadrezzar II and Nabonidus, New Haven, 1923, p. 25, No. 94.

¹³ See Eckhard Unger, 'Nebuchadnezzar II und sein Sandabakku (Oberkommissar) in Tyrus,' ZAW, 44, 1926, pp. 314-317; cf. also the same writer in Theol. Literaturzeitung, 50, 1925, 485-486, and Bewer in AJSL, 42, 1926, p. 130.

¹⁴ No. 98, Dougherty, p. 151.

¹⁵ Movers, pp. 446 f., quotes ancient sources reporting of Nebuchadrezzar that it was he who first began to build the great mole from the mainland to the island-city which after its completion by Alexander made the capture of Tyre possible. Ezek. 27, 18 f. speaks of heads made bald and shoulders peeled, i. e. of the heavy burdens and loads carried in the attempt to build a mole from the sea-bank to the city "in the midst of the seas" (27, 4). Indeed, "the author of the prophecy shows his knowledge of ancient history" (Pseudo-Ezekiel, p. 94).

¹⁶ Marti-Festschrift, p. 285.

26, 38, and 39 of Ezekiel (or even Jer. 4, 13; 6, 22, etc.) refer to the invaders of 332 B.C., rests on nothing; (2) that the dates of Ezekiel are confirmed by recent archaeological discoveries and deserve full credence; (3) that the location of the prophet in Babylonia, "closely connected — indeed, inseparably connected,"¹⁷ with the system of dating in the book, is, like the latter, not editorial interpolation but a genuine part of the original prophecy.

The prophecy in 29, 17 ff. helps to a correct understanding of another misconstrued passage, Ezek. 33, 30–33, in which Torrey sees "the most striking single bit of evidence of the intimate relation"¹⁸ of Ezekiel to the brief record of Manasseh's reign in 2 Kings 21, 2–16, from which, according to Torrey, the entire prophecy is directly derived and upon which it is directly built. There is little force in the subjective impression that Ezek. 33, 32 alludes to 2 Kings 21, 2, where, by the way, the sentence in question is a conventional phrase occurring also in two other books of the Bible. It matters more that the interpretation and even the translation of the passage in Ezekiel is arbitrary and hence leads to erroneous conclusions.

The prophecy in Ezek. 33, 32 confirms what we read in 29, 21, that the exiled community, as it had not heeded Ezekiel's prediction of calamity, so did not earnestly believe, after the catastrophe of 586, in the prophet's messianic message of restoration. When his forecast of the utter destruction and spoliation of Tyre (Ezek. 26, 12) proved false, when realities of statecraft¹⁹ refuted an oracle of his God, Ezekiel was accused by the exiles of being himself one who is "divining lies, saying: Thus saith the Lord God, when the Lord hath not spoken" (22, 28). The humbled seer did not dare to 'open his mouth among them' (29, 21; 16, 63): who will now believe in his messianic vagaries?²⁰

¹⁷ Pseudo-Ezekiel, p. 17.

¹⁸ Ibid. p. 69.

¹⁹ Nebuchadrezzar found it wiser or even necessary to win the support of Phoenicia rather than to embitter it by greed or cruelty: in fact, we see Tyre later allied with Babylonia against Egypt; see Hölscher, p. 24, who also, not knowing of Babylonian tablets on the siege and vassalage of Tyre, hesitates as to whether Ezek. 29, 17 is not "eine geschichtlich ganz wertlose Kombination des Ergänzers" (pp. 23 and 147).

²⁰ See Herrmann, p. 200, also Rothstein, p. 951, and Heinisch, p. 144.

The earlier utterance in 33, 30 ff. proves that even in the time of his greatest vogue the prophet knew that his visions of restoration were taken as at best mere entertainment: "they hear thy words, but they will not do them: for lasciviousness is in their mouth,²¹ and their heart goes after their covetousness," the material gain and the new business advantages in the "land of traffic" (17, 4). The word 'agabhim' is used by the prophet, as so often in the Bible, with its kindred meaning in mind, and in bitter irony he gives voice to what many a speaker must have experienced before and after him: "indeed, thou art unto them as a singer²² of love-songs that hath a pleasant voice and can play well on an instrument: for they hear thy words, but they do them not." But when the day of judgment comes, preceding the messianic return to the homeland (cf. Ezek. 20, 37 ff.), "then shall they know that a prophet hath been among them." The arrangement of oracles according to their content rather than chronology, which newer research in Ezekiel has so convincingly demonstrated, explains the place of the utterance in the beginning of the messianic oracles. But even if the date in 33, 21 is wrongly extended over the entire chapter and the messianic interpretation dropped, it is incidental to a false theory, not required by the text itself, when of chapter 33 it is declared that "in all literature" there can hardly be "a more striking example of an interpolation which is contradicted by its context";²³ Jer. 52, 30 speaks of a third raid of Nebuchadrezzar on Judaea in

²¹ Or, if 'hemmah 'osim' be retained: "for (but) lasciviousness they do with their mouth." The emendations for עֲנִיָּים in verse 31, usually suggested on the basis of the versions, are all futile; unable to reproduce the Hebrew play upon the word, the ancient versions render the verse freely although on the whole correctly. See C. H. Cornill, *Das Buch des Propheten Ezechiel*, Leipzig, 1886, p. 398; G. Jahn, *Das Buch Ezechiel*, Leipzig, 1905, p. 234.

²² Torrey adopts the English Revised Version: "as a very lovely song of one that hath a pleasant voice." No doubt this is better than the current arbitrary alterations of the text. Yet there is no need for even the slightest change of the *textus receptus*: שִׁיר is built not unlike the other active participles (*qātil*) of the weak stems (e. g. צִיר, cf. J. Barth, *Die Nominalbildung in den semitischen Sprachen*, Leipzig, 1894, § 127 c, p. 188), and means 'singer'; cf. Amos 8, 3, where also שִׁירוֹת need not be emended. R. Hananel (ca. 1050) seems to have known this signification when interpreting Ezek. 26, 13 וְהַשְׁבֵּתִי הַמֶּן שִׁירֵךְ to mean הַמֶּן הַמְשׁוֹרְרִים (see the fragments of his commentary on Ezekiel in מִגְדַּל הַנֶּחֱלָל, Leipzig, 1876).

²³ Pseudo-Ezekiel, p. 38.

582. The alteration of the text that Torrey, against his own principles, has to postulate in this chapter, will receive notice later.

Similarly the rest of the evidence of the close and direct dependence of Ezekiel 1-39 upon 2 Kings 21, 2-16 fails to convince. The oracles on the false prophets and their lying divinations in Ezek. 12, 24; 13, 6 ff.; 22, 28, are asserted to be built upon the single verse 2 Kings 21, 6.²⁴ It seems, however, strange that none of all the varieties of divination enumerated in that verse occurs in the whole book of Ezekiel: "onen," "naḥeš," "obh we-yidde'onim." Nor is there a trace of any characteristic phrase from the account of Manasseh's reign adopted by Ezekiel (note 2 Kings 21, 8 'hānīd regel,' and the striking simile in vs. 13). Must one assume that we have here conscious and deliberate omission, and that the avoidance rather than the employment of these phrases proves literary dependence? It seems not without significance that Torrey's own student, Millar Burrows, who in his dissertation assembled "every parallel I have been able to discover in which there seemed to be any likelihood of a direct literary connection" with the book of Ezekiel, has not pointed out a single resemblance in the entire prophecy to the chapter in Kings on which it is said to have been directly built: there is in his work no reference whatever to 2 Kings 21.²⁵

This eloquent omission seems to prove more than the absence of any mention of Jeremiah in the book of Ezekiel, "still another very striking item of evidence that the scene of this whole prophecy is the reign of Manasseh."²⁶ But does any other seer in ancient Israel, using the words of another prophet, ever mention him by name or make a formal acknowledgement of his quotation? Do the contemporaries Micah and Isaiah mention one another, although that they knew each other is proved in other ways as well as by their identical prophecy, Isaiah 2 and Micah 4? Does Jeremiah, who studied the prophecies of Hosea

²⁴ Ibid. p. 67.

²⁵ Millar Burrows, *The Literary Relations of Ezekiel*, Yale University Dissertation, 1925, p. 27.

²⁶ *Pseudo-Ezekiel*, p. 69.

most diligently and cites from them verbatim,²⁷ ever name his great clansman of the north? Literary habits of western civilization must not be made binding upon the ancient Hebrews.

The utterance in Ezek. 22, 30 is to be taken as literally as Jer. 5, 1; 9, 1 f.; 20, 10. But both Ezekiel and Jeremiah of course knew of a small band of congenial spirits who sighed and suffered for all the abominations that were done in the midst of declining Jerusalem: Ezek. 9, 4 sets a mark also upon the forehead of Jeremiah.

Another item of evidence showing that Ezekiel was composed many generations after the destruction of Jerusalem is the occurrence of 'Paras,' or Persia, in 27, 10 and 38, 5. "How could Ezekiel make this casual mention of the Persians before that people had made its appearance on the stage of history?"²⁸ An obelisk of Salmanassar II from 835 B.C. mentions, along with the 'Madai' (Medes), the country 'Parsua,' both names occurring here for the first time, which seems hardly accidental.²⁹ Having been made an Assyrian province in 744 B.C.,³⁰ Parsua is frequently cited in later records. Whether this region is the original home of the Persians who later under Assyrian pressure moved southeast into the country to which they permanently gave their name,³¹ or whether it is identical with another people, the non-aryan Πάρσιοι mentioned by Strabo,³² is one of the most difficult problems of ancient oriental ethnology. But in either case there is nothing puzzling in the occurrence of the name in Ezekiel.

Puzzling, however, is the mention of Persia in 'Pseudo-Eze-

²⁷ For example, Jer. 4, 3 = Hos. 10, 12; Jer. 3, 22 = Hos. 14, 5. In Jer. 26, 18 the elders of the land, not the prophet, mention Micah.

²⁸ Pseudo-Ezekiel, p. 84.

²⁹ Schrader, Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek, I, 148; see also Fritz Hommel, *Ethnologie und Geographie des Alten Orients*, München, 1926, p. 194.

³⁰ Paul Rost, *Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglat Pileasers III*, Leipzig, 1893, Ann. 26-37; cf. also Emil Forrer, *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches*, Leipzig, 1920, pp. 90 ff.

³¹ So Georg Hüsing, *Mitteilungen der Anthropol. Gesellschaft in Wien*, 46, pp. 209 ff.; Paul Rost, *Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Geschichte*, Berlin, 1897, p. 74, note 2; Fritz Hommel, *Gesch. Bab. und Assyriens*, Berlin, 1885, p. 719, note 3.

³² Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, 2d ed., Stuttgart-Berlin, 1907, I, 1, p. 806, note.

kiel': for the manner in which it is referred to unmistakably indicates that 'Paras' was an unknown quantity to the writer. He lists it with the African Kuš and Lud, which has led many a commentator either to suppose an error in the text,³³ or to assume that the prophet alludes to an African tribe of similar name recorded in ancient sources.³⁴ The explanation offered by Movers,³⁵ that in the time of Ezekiel the Persians were "noch wenig bekannt," or the similar excuse by Kraetzschmar³⁶ on the ground of "unzureichende geographische Kenntnisse jener Zeit," cannot be claimed for Jerusalem in 230 B.C., which knew Persia only too well, or for the learned author who "shows his knowledge of ancient history"³⁷ and is well acquainted with the invaders of 332 B.C. The manner in which Persia is mentioned in Ezekiel excludes, rather than proves, the late origin of the book.

In Ezek. 8, 17, a troublesome passage indeed, Torrey sees "a remarkably plain allusion"³⁸ to Persian ritual, another evidence of the later origin of the prophecy. In truth one finds here only a delusion — or series of delusions — in the minds of many of the best commentators. Only the ineradicability of error can account for the strange and sad spectacle of Walther's³⁹ mischievous and utterly unwarranted guess having weathered nearly two centuries of biblical scholarship; it has misled among others scholars so distinguished as J. D. Michaelis,⁴⁰ Rosenmüller,⁴¹ Gesenius,⁴² Ewald,⁴³ Scholz,⁴⁴ Lagarde,⁴⁵ Vatke,⁴⁶

³³ Toy, Grätz, Berry, etc.

³⁴ Hitzig quotes Sallust, Jug. 18, who mentions Persians in ancient Africa. Dillmann points to the North African Perorsi (Pliny, v. 1, 8, 8, vi. 30, 35. Ptol. iv. 6, 16) and Pharusii (Pliny, v. 1, 10; 8, 8; Ptol. iv. 6, 17; Pomp. Mela iii. 11; Strabo ii. 131). See Carl Herrmann Manchot, 'Ezechiel's Weissagung wider Tyrus,' in Jahrb. für protest. Theologie, XIV, 1888, p. 428; Herrmann, pp. 165 and 304, and Hölscher, p. 138, note.

³⁵ Die Phönizier, Berlin, 1850, II, 2, p. 36.

³⁶ Kraetzschmar, p. 209.

³⁷ See above, note 15.

³⁸ Pseudo-Ezekiel, p. 84.

³⁹ De Schechina Persarum, Magdeburg, 1743.

⁴⁰ Supplem. ad lex., p. 633.

⁴¹ Scholia in V. T., I, Leipzig, 1808, p. 241.

⁴² Handwörterbuch, s. v. *מִזְבֵּחַ*.

⁴³ Die Propheten des Alten Bundes, Stuttgart, 1841, II, p. 245.

⁴⁴ Götzendienst und Zauberwesen bei den alten Hebräern, 1877, p. 62.

⁴⁵ Gesammelte Abhandlungen, Leipzig, 1866, p. 159.

⁴⁶ Die Religion des Alten Testamentes, Berlin, 1835, I, 388.

Zunz,⁴⁷ Smend,⁴⁸ von Orelli,⁴⁹ König,⁵⁰ and Torrey. Moreover the error is often repeated even by those who refute it,⁵¹ thus surviving and spreading through the very rebuttal of it.

It would seem that the context alone should suffice to exclude the explanation. For why should an innocent and pious custom of the Parsees, a token, as we shall soon see, of profound religiousness, be branded as the basest of all abominations and provoke the grim anger of God, who is otherwise not unmindful of the value of foreign customs and statutes (cf. 5, 7)? Nor does it seem likely that after having ended his long account of idolatries, the prophet should go back and in feeble anticlimax introduce another feature of sun-worship. Does not the rabbinic traditional interpretation of the passage, confirmed by etymology from cognate languages,⁵² seem more justified by the context, when it sees in Ezek. 8, 17 either an allusion to phallic worship⁵³ or an idiomatic phrase signifying utter and insolent defiance?⁵⁴ But considerations of this kind will be dismissed by our author: "The straits to which commentators can be driven in the attempt to avoid an obvious fact which *must not* be accepted can nowhere be better illustrated than in the treatment of this passage.^{54a} The Persian rite must be given closer attention.

"They send (šoleḥim) the branch to their nose." "This is a remarkably plain allusion to a well-known feature of the Persian ritual *in the worship of the sun*, the devotee holding a branch, or bundle of twigs, before his face."^{54b} But Torrey's description of the Persian rite is erroneous.

⁴⁷ Gesammelte Schriften, Berlin, 1875, I, 229.

⁴⁸ Smend, p. 54.

⁴⁹ Das Buch Ezechiel, München, 1896, ad loc.

⁵⁰ Geschichte der alttestamentlichen Religion, 3d ed., Gütersloh, 1924, p. 451.

⁵¹ For example, Th. Kliefoth, Das Buch Ezechiel, Rostock, 1864, p. 145; C. F. Keil, Bibl. Commentar über den Propheten Ezechiel, Leipzig, 1868, p. 77; even Kraetzschmar, p. 96.

⁵² See Rudolf Ružička, Konsonantische Dissimilation in den semitischen Sprachen, Leipzig, 1909, p. 112; Paul Haupt in AJSL, XXV, 1909, pp. 1 ff., and in ZDMG, 65, 1911, p. 563; also A. Marmorstein in Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, 13, 1910, p. 435.

⁵³ See Grätz, MGWJ, 25, 1876, pp. 507-508; cf. also S. B. Kopetzi, Dissertatio ad illustrandum ritum superstitiosum qui perstringitur Ezek. viii, 17, Franequerae, 1772, p. 36.

⁵⁴ Rashi, Kimchi; Gunkel, Schöpfung und Chaos, 1895, p. 141.

^{54a} Pseudo-Ezekiel, p. 84.

^{54b} Ibid.

(1) It is not the bundle of twigs, the 'bareçma,' which is held before the face, but a thick veil called 'paiti-dâna,' or 'penom,' "consisting of two pieces of white cotton cloth, hanging loosely from the bridge of the nose to, at least, two inches below the mouth, and tied with two strings at the back of the head."⁵⁵ It guards the sacred fire on the altar from pollution through the breath of men. Obviously Ezekiel's 'zemorah' cannot mean 'paiti-dâna.'

(2) 'Zemorah' means rod of a vine-tree (Num. 13, 23; Nahum 2, 3; Ezek. 15, 2). The bareçma, however, is not a single rod, but a bundle of twigs, chiefly of the pomegranate, date, or tamarisk tree,⁵⁶ which, plucked with particular ceremonies and cut with a special knife, are held by the priest in the left hand during the recitation of prayer. Neither the verb nor the substantive of the Hebrew text suits the rite described.

(3) The bareçma is used by priests only. It was Sraosha ('obedience'), the priest-god, who first cut and tied into bundles and "spread forth the bareçma, and the three bundles, and the nine, till it was heaped for us knee-high, and to the middle of the thighs, for the Bountiful Immortals, for their propitiation and their praise."⁵⁷ After Sraosha's example, the bareçma remained the prerogative of priests exclusively — to whom, however, no reference is made in the passage of Ezekiel. Even Smend,⁵⁸ though unaware that he is refuting the explanation he has adopted, remarks: "Dass es grade Priester waren, sagt er nicht und schon das beweist wohl, dass es keine waren."

(4) The bareçma is not a characteristic or typical feature of sun-worship. It is used in prayer and daily sacrifice offered to all the beneficent genii, the Amesha Spentas, or 'undying and well-doing ones,' who all have one and the same father and

⁵⁵ James Darmesteter, *The Zend-Avesta*, Oxford, 1880, I, 168 (quoting Hang, *Essays*, 2d ed., p. 243, note 1); F. Spiegel, *Erânische Altertumskunde*, Leipzig, 1878, III, p. 560; idem, *Avesta übers.*, Leipzig, 1859, II, p. lxvii; G. F. Moore, *History of Religions*, New York, 1922, I, 388; Adolf Rapp, 'Die Religion und Sitte der Perser und übrigen Iranier nach griechischen und römischen Quellen,' *ZDMG*, 20, 1866, pp. 86 f.

⁵⁶ Ferdinand Justi, *Handbuch der Zendsprache*, Leipzig, 1864, p. 212; Darmesteter, p. 22, note 2; F. Spiegel, *Erânische Altertumskunde*, p. 571.

⁵⁷ *Yasna* lvii. 5, 6 (*The Zend-Avesta*, transl. by L. H. Mills, Oxford, 1887, III, p. 299).

⁵⁸ Smend, p. 53.

lord — Ahura Mazda; the sacrifice being a kind of symbolic replenishment of the store of good creation which is threatened with impoverishment by the daily consumption of food and drink in the world.⁵⁹ The bareçma is accompanied with 'zaothra,' the sacred water: as representative of vegetal nature it receives the zaothra-libations, symbolic of fertilizing rains.⁶⁰ No wonder that it is Anahita, or Anaitis, the goddess of springs and streams and of all fertility, and not the sun-god Mithra, who is described as holding in priestly fashion bareçma-twigs in her hand.⁶¹ Only in Yašt 12, 3 seems to be found the solitary instance that the bareçma is cut and bound in the third part of the night, 'toward the way of the sun'; but even here the accompanying prayer to Ahura Mazda makes the crude identification with sun-worship impossible.⁶²

We may sum up the result of the evidence. The bareçma is not a feature of sun-worship. It is used by priests, not by laymen. It is cut from trees other than the vine. It is not a single branch, but a bundle of twigs. It is held, not sent. It has to do with the hand, not the nose. Where else in the annals of biblical exegesis can one find for three Hebrew words a more fantastic farrago of fallacies?

6. *Language and Landscape*

Though akin to Hebrew, the language of Babylonia was considered by the Judaeans "a strange speech and a hard language" (Ezek. 3, 5). When threatening an invasion from the north, the prophets do not omit the horror of "a people of a deeper speech than can be perceived and of a tongue more stammering than can be understood" (Is. 33, 19; cf. also Is. 28, 11 and Jer. 5, 15). It must have been a relief for the Hebrew captives to hear on Babylonian soil the sound of Aramaic, more kindred to Hebrew and long familiar to the educated classes in Palestine (2 Kings 18, 26), which here had wide currency and even threatened to supplant the official lan-

⁵⁹ F. Spiegel, 570; Darmesteter, p. lxxviii.

⁶⁰ Darmesteter, 2d ed., Oxford, 1895, p. 214.

⁶¹ F. Spiegel, *Erânische Altertumskunde*, II, Leipzig, 1873, p. 55.

⁶² F. Spiegel, *Avesta übers.*, III, p. 107.

guage of the country. The rapid spread of the Aramaic tongue may be illustrated by one example: the weights and measures of the country, formerly bilingual, drop, about 700 B.C., the Assyrian inscription and retain only that in Aramaic.¹

Thirty years of residence in an Aramaic environment would seem likely to have had some influence upon the Hebrew speech of the exiled community, particularly in view of the close affinity of the two languages. It would seem inevitable that so kindred a language, heard and spoken for three decades, should affect the vocabulary, idiomatic usages, and even morphological features of a tongue closely allied — but weaker, being exiled from its soil and natural conditions of growth and confined to a relatively small group of captives in a foreign land. It was only due to the sacred stubbornness of religious teachers like Ezekiel that Hebrew survived at all among the exiles and was not absorbed by the stronger and dangerously similar sister speech.

The strong Aramaic element in Ezekiel, admirably described by Zunz,² and discussed in detail by Friedrich Selle in his dissertation, *De Aramaismis libri Ezechielis*,³ would therefore seem to prove rather than disprove the Babylonian origin of the book. Torrey, however, believes the opposite to be true: "A sojourn among Israelite captives in a foreign land might well make him [Ezekiel] more careful for the purity of the sacred tongue."⁴ He thinks that the prophet would be expected to write the language we see and admire in Isaiah, the oldest parts of Jeremiah, and the like. As a matter of fact, the Hebrew of Ezekiel's earlier and later contemporaries shows similar tendencies even in Palestine. The useful treatise on *Aramaismi Jeremiani* by Karl Zimmer⁵ testifies to the rapidly increasing process of aramaization, not only in borrowed words but also in structural features (cf. Jer. 12, 5; 22, 15; 25, 34, etc.) in the Hebrew of the late seventh and early sixth century. The considerable list of Aramaic and late Hebrew words and idioms in

¹ R. Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, Stuttgart, 1929; III, 2, p. 520; Erich Klamroth, *Die Jüdischen Exulanten in Babylonien*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 49, note 1.

² Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden, pp. 159 f.; *Gesammelte Schriften*, Berlin, 1871, I, pp. 232 f.

³ Halle, 1890.

⁴ Pseudo-Ezekiel, p. 85.

⁵ Halle, 1880.

Second Isaiah ⁶ bespeaks a like influence from the neighboring language. That a sojourn of more than a quarter of a century in a land of Aramaic speech would strengthen and increase tendencies already at work in Palestine, seems an unavoidable conclusion.⁷ In itself, however, the Aramaic element is not a sign of lateness, as is proved by Hosea ⁸ — and, of course, by many an early biblical passage. Nor does it, as the example of both Isaiah and Ezekiel testify, imply lack of native vigor. In Ezekiel as well there are splendid pages, of classical force of utterance, which forbid our speaking in wholesale fashion of “real deterioration in the language.”

There is, however, another element in Ezekiel's language, left entirely unmentioned in *Pseudo-Ezekiel* though discussed in Selle's dissertation. What of the *Babylonismi libri Ezechielis*? Friedrich Delitzsch's ⁹ list of Babylonian loan-words in the book

⁶ A list is given by Torrey himself in *The Second Isaiah*, p. 477, see also p. 108. His dating of that prophet, notwithstanding the other merits of his book, is arbitrary. The lower time-limit is fixed by the passages in which the Babylonian power is spoken of as still standing, e. g. Is. 47, 8: “If this had been a vaticinium post eventum, the prophet must have expressed himself very differently” (p. 104). True; but what follows contradicts the statement that this is not a prophecy after the event: Is. 47, 11 shows that the doom here announced is “not the ‘benevolent assimilation’ by a foreign power which took place in 539.” With equal right one could argue, to quote Hölscher, p. 24, “die Weissagung hat sich, wie alle echte Weissagung, nicht erfüllt.” Even more dubious is the date obtained from Is. 60, 10. Both the evidence derived from the passage (in point of historic information on no higher plane than, for example, Is. 49, 23) and Torrey's new date for the rebuilding of the city wall (384 B.C.; in *Ezra Studies*, 444 B.C.) are open to dispute. The allusions in Is. 56, 9—57, 21 to 407 B.C., when Egypt threw off the Persian yoke, or in chap. 59 to the murder of Jeshua by his brother Johanan the high priest (p. 109), are hardly taken seriously by the author himself, who in another connection (pp. 95 f.) says, most admirably: “Allusions to contemporary events are of course not to be looked for in religious poetry. The historical background recognized in this or that . . . composition is usually the creation of the commentator's imagination.”

⁷ The Aramaisms of Ezekiel cited by Selle and Torrey can be increased: see F. Perles, *OLZ*, 12, 1909, p. 252; Hehn, in *Sellin-Festschrift*, p. 68; H. Geers, *AJSL*, 34, 1918, p. 130. Compare also Harry Torczyner, *Anzeiger, Vienna Academy, phil.-hist. Klasse*, XX, 1910, and *OLZ*, 15, 1912, p. 402: “Wie der Babylonier Ezechiel schrieben auch die unter babylonischem Einfluss stehenden Juden in Aegypten נשׁוּר für נבד (bab. še'u)”; cf. *Ezek.* 45, 11 and 15.

⁸ 11, 3; 10, 14; 10, 5. See also H. Gunkel, *Die Psalmen*, Göttingen, 1926, p. 76 (on Ps. 19, 3. 5).

⁹ *Specimen Glossarii Ezechielico-Babylonici* (in S. Baer, *Liber Ezechielis*, Lipsiae, 1884, pp. x-xviii).

of Ezekiel has been justly criticized,¹⁰ and some of his etymologies he himself discarded in the "Assyrisches Handwörterbuch."¹¹ Yet there remains a noteworthy list of words inapplicable on any other ground. Selle accepted twenty-five out of thirty-seven words adduced by Delitzsch: "quae omnia vocabula, quum ex aliis linguis vindicari et explicari non possint, cum optime ex Babylonica derivari tum vim eorum intelligi libenter Delitzschio assentio."¹² Even Selle's list can be reduced wherever the remotest kinship with another cognate language is detected; nevertheless a considerable number of words is left for which no other derivation is known but the Babylonian environment: for example, 'agappu' (seven times in Ezekiel, 12, 14, etc.), 'elamu' (40, 16-36), 'nadanu' (16, 33), 'šigaru' (19, 9), 'mesu' (16, 4), 'uzubu' (27, 12), not to mention others.¹³ The verb 'kasam' (44, 20), which puzzled the rabbis of old,¹⁴ must have been known to the 'gallabhim' (5, 1) of Babylonia,¹⁵ both words being an echo of Babylonian conditions as were the 'kesathoth' and other witchcraft of chapter 13, which recall the similar rites of the 'Maklu'-texts and 'Šurpu'-texts.¹⁶ There are also some other features reminiscent of Babylonia. When Ezekiel wants to portray the city of Jerusalem, he uses the clay tablet (4, 1), and this is proved by the Babylonian plans and maps on clay tablets disinterred in the valley of the Euphrates and Tigris to be here the natural procedure.¹⁷ Another Babylonian element is the belomancy described in 21, 26, and nowhere else referred to in the Bible.¹⁸ Haupt¹⁹ and

¹⁰ Compare Nöldeke, ZDMG, 40, p. 718; Bertholet, p. xxv; P. Haupt (in C. H. Toy, The Book of Ezekiel in Hebrew, Leipzig, 1899, pp. 65, 74, 102, etc.); I. N. Simchoni, in He'athid, IV, Berlin, 1912, p. 225: יְחֻקָּאֵל הַנְּבִיאָה.

¹¹ Leipzig, 1896.

¹² Selle, p. 39.

¹³ König, Geschichte der alttestamentlichen Religion, 3d ed., Gütersloh, 1924, p. 451; F. Perles, Babylonisch-jüdische Glossen, 1905, p. 8; Haupt, pp. 55, 64, 71, 83; for additional Babylonian loan-words or parallels *ibid.* on Ezek. 4, 2; 9, 3; 13, 15; 23, 5; 23, 24; 28, 14; 32, 19 and 30. Meissner, OLZ, 1911, pp. 476 f.

¹⁴ Sanhedrin 22b, bottom.

¹⁵ Delitzsch, Assyrisches Handwörterbuch, 196; E. Klamroth, pp. 49, 51.

¹⁶ Anton Jirku, Altorientalischer Kommentar zum A. T., Leipzig, 1923, p. 211; A. Jeremias, Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients, 4th ed., Leipzig, 1930, p. 707; and the literature quoted by Herrmann, p. 86.

¹⁷ C. H. Toy, Ezekiel, New York, 1899, pp. 100 f.

¹⁸ C. H. Toy, 'The Babylonian Element in Ezekiel,' in Journal of Biblical Literature, 1881, p. 62.

¹⁹ Haupt, p. 63.

Daiches²⁰ have, independently it seems, suggested that Ezek. 14, 12-20 must have been influenced by the Babylonian account of the deluge. Before them D. H. Müller²¹ found cuneiform parallels to Ezek. 32, 5-6. Some other resemblances in phraseology with inscriptions of Assarhaddon and the Gilgamesh-epic have been pointed out by some scholars,²² who have also called attention to Ezekiel's acquaintance with Babylonian mythology. The prophet speaks of the garden of God (31, 8) and of the mountain of God (28, 14, 16), situated of course in the north (Is. 14, 13) since from the same quarter issue the seven divine messengers (9, 2), one of whom seems to be fashioned after the Babylonian heavenly scribe Nebo, and since the same direction in the theophany (1, 4) means ostensibly something more than merely a point of the compass. In this connection another element of the Babylonian environment, discovered by A. van Hoonacker,²³ deserves attention: 'gug' in Sumerian denotes 'darkness,' which is the best explanation thus far offered for the apocalyptic chapters 38 and 39. "Le Gôg d'Ézéchiél est la personification des ténèbres, le *ténébreux*, l'ennemi qui vient du Nord (comp. Joel II, 20). Magôg (*ma* + *gug*) est la région des ténèbres ou du ténébreux, le Nord." Van Hoonacker's few other similar loan-words, which likewise defy every other attempt at elucidation, increase the likelihood of this conjecture: e. g. 'hušmal' (1, 4), 'maḥmal' (24, 21), 'maklul' (27, 24), mentioned along with the Assyrian 'gulinu' and 'burumu.'²⁴

Do not all these Babylonian elements in the diction of Ezekiel point to the same environment as that indicated by his many Aramaisms? Are all these resemblances in vocabulary and loan-words, references to rites, to writing material, to architecture and myth, commerce and custom, of Babylonia merely accidental? Can it all be dismissed, like some cuneiform par-

²⁰ 'Ezekiel and the Babylonian Account of the Deluge,' in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, XVII, 1905, pp. 441-445.

²¹ *Ezechiel Studien*, Wien, 1894, p. 56.

²² Hölscher, p. 9. See also H. Gressmann, *The Tower of Babel*, New York, 1928, pp. 61 ff.

²³ 'Éléments sumériens dans le livre d'Ézéchiél?' in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, 28, 1914, pp. 333-336.

²⁴ P. Cheminant, *Les Prophéties d'Ézéchiél contre Tyr*, Paris, 1912 (on Ezek. 27, 24).

allels to Second Isaiah, as merely affording "striking illustration of the possibility, under favorable circumstances, of hearing the grass grow"?²⁵ Or will the critic, as in the case of the absence of any reference to Jeremiah, so here assume that "the prophecy is true to its historical setting,"²⁶ and that its writer has through diligent study of cuneiform language and literature achieved this splendid verisimilitude of land, language, and circumstance? But even this intrinsically impossible theory would contradict the assumption, brilliantly argued by Torrey in the second chapter of this book, that "the entire 'exilic' situation is merely a matter of editorial patches, usually attached or inserted in a very clumsy manner," while in the original prophecy there is not "even the slightest indication of a Babylonian setting."²⁷

Let us consider for a moment the "editorial patches." Are they, indeed, "inserted in a very clumsy manner," such as is characteristic of ordinary and obvious interpolations? Or do they too offer correct historical information, not unlike the dates of the book which we have found trustworthy by a study of the siege of Tyre (29, 17)?

²⁵ The Second Isaiah, p. 26, note.

²⁶ Pseudo-Ezekiel, p. 70.

²⁷ Ibid. p. 34. There is a substratum of truth in Torrey's contention that some chapters seem to be addressed to the Hebrews in Palestine rather than to Jews living in Babylonia. The rabbinic tradition (cited above, §3, note 76) rested upon a similar impression in its assertion that the appointment to the prophetic mission was made in Palestine before Ezekiel's exile to Babylonia (chap. 2-3, or even chap. 17). The impression may be accounted for by the peculiar historical situation of the exiled community in Babylonia. The Jewish captives watched feverishly the developments in the homeland and put all their trust in Jerusalem, which the common view of priest and laity held to be inviolate: God could not possibly permit its destruction. Hence the prophet's invective against Jerusalem and those among the exiles who expected salvation from the "south" (Ezek. 21, 2), that is, of course, from Judaea. Ezek. 21, clearly spoken on Babylonian soil, is according to our author "even more evidently spoken in Jerusalem" (p. 36): but there is not the slightest indication in the language of 21, 7 that the prophet "turns his face *back* to the city," for which Ezekiel knows the Hebrew equivalent (cf. 14, 6; 18, 30; 7, 22). The utterance in 6, 2, as 21, 6 proves, is also spoken on Babylonian soil, also chap. 36, etc. There is little cogency in the assertion about the symbolic actions that "performed in Babylonia they would be grotesque" (p. 43): the pantomime in chap. 4 is grotesque wherever performed, and the clay tablet less strange by the river Chebar than by the waters of Shiloah. That the captives "would not care a straw for the preacher's fulminations against the land which they had left behind once for all" (p. 28) is, even when the sternest rebukes of the prophet are taken at their face value, an accusation both mistaken and unjust.

It is strange that the very first of the "editorial insertions" should again be confirmed by modern excavations. The river Chebar is otherwise unknown save in the cuneiform contract-tablets from the business archives of Murashu Sons of Nippur, where not only does the exact equivalent of the Hebrew name of the river, 'nar Kabari,' occur,²⁸ but there are also found a number of genuinely Hebrew names which show that Jews in that region had frequent business relations with the Babylonian firm.²⁹ The tablet with the name of the river is dated 424 B.C., but the river, naturally, had existed long before.

The name of the other locality inserted by the editor, 'Tel Abib,' is declared to be "improbable"; yet is it not again a curious circumstance that this spot too is otherwise unknown and finds its only equivalent in cuneiform literature?³⁰

The other insertions also which aim to give a Babylonian setting to the prophecy do not deserve the censure of being "clumsy." To indicate the exilic situation the interpolator adds but two words, and the pseudepigraphon on the days of Manasseh rings true as an utterance from the Babylonian captivity: this is, if the theory is accepted, no clumsy patch, but marvellous skill. The prophet speaks of the imminent destruction of Jerusalem: "your sons and your daughters "aşer 'azabhtem" ('whom ye have left') shall fall by the sword" (24, 21). If the two words be spurious, why has our critic spared the analogous statement on "sons and daughters that shall come forth unto you" (14, 22), plainly addressed as it is to the fathers on Babylonian soil to join whom some of the children *left behind in Jerusalem* will come out. Yet Torrey sees in 24, 21 an obvious interpolation: "Those who can imagine exiles who would *leave their children behind* (! !), in setting out for the foreign land, are free to do so."³¹ Centuries of exegesis found nothing improbable here, much less need a generation that has witnessed similar horrors in modern warfare.

²⁸ H. V. Hilprecht, *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, IX, 1898, pp. 26 and 76.

²⁹ Cf. Samuel Daiches, 'Einige nach babylonischem Muster gebildete hebräische Namen,' *OLZ*, 1908, p. 276.

³⁰ Pseudo-Ezekiel, p. 33; see, however, Haupt, p. 46, and Haupt's English translation of Ezekiel, p. 97; Herrmann, 7, note 15a.

³¹ Pseudo-Ezekiel, p. 34, note 8, and p. 42.

If the insertions cited be skilful, others are even more subtle. To the threat against the false prophets, that "they shall not be written in the writing of the house of Israel," the editor adds most fittingly in superb rhythmic crescendo, "nor shall they enter into the land of Israel" (13, 9). If this is editorial manufacture, must not also the similar utterance in Ezek. 20, 38 be rejected? Both are woven of the same material and both are inexcisable, part and parcel of the messianic teachings of the prophet: the sinners and rebels will be 'purged out' from among the exiles and "they shall not enter into the land of Israel: and ye shall know that I am the Lord" — the two utterances end in agreement even in their closing solemn formula. How a similar thought and threat are uttered clearly and unambiguously upon Palestinian soil, we can read in Jer. 29, 32. What a contrast to the exilic distance and remoteness from Jerusalem in the book of Ezekiel!

Even for the name of the prophet we are said to be indebted to the editor: the original work was anonymous.³² But again it suits the prophecy so marvellously that, were it an isolated instance, one would not dare see in it more than a quaint coincidence. The ancients believed in the symbolic significance of names: we find both Isaiah and Jeremiah reading God's message in the accidental sound of their name (Is. 8, 18; Jer. 15, 16). In Ezekiel's appointment to the prophetic calling the adjective 'ḥazak' is repeated four times, one after another, significantly, solemnly (3, 7-9), in what seems to be unmistakable allusion to his name. If the name also is but an editorial 'patch,' it is, at least, unfair to disparage it as 'clumsy.'

But if the supposed editorial insertions thus far discussed are impressive for their congruity in content and language with the rest of the original prophecy, there are other supposed alterations which would show a degree of skill and subtlety little short of genius. Suppose one were shown in a modern sonnet two alternative readings, one rhyming with the preceding verse, the other not, and were asked to decide between them, would he not say that the more fitting and harmonious line came from the original poet? Our critic, however, represents his Babylonian

³² Ibid. p. 111.

editor as improving on the diction of the original prophecy. It is he, not the prophet, who contrived the beautiful assonance: 'behorabboth baherebh' (33, 27). The original text, is the theory, cannot have spoken of 'waste places,' for they are inherent in the Chronicler's fiction of the totally deserted cities of Judah. "Omit, therefore, the three words in vs. 24 ['these waste places']; and read *bè-'arim* ['in the cities'], instead of *bè-khara-bôth*, in vs. 27."³³ But at last the patient and maltreated text refuses to submit to the arbitrary *a priori*. Fortunately the deliberate paranomasia forbids us to expunge the phrase: 'horabboth' is the original text, and the whole self-contradictory structure of a Babylonian redaction, shaken on other grounds as well, collapses.

This unhappy conjecture of a refashioned prophecy appears to be but a recent guess of the critic. In *Pseudo-Ezekiel* (1930) the assertion is made that the writer of the original prophecy "was either unacquainted with the new theory of the Babylonian Golah or else felt no interest in it."³⁴ In *The Second Isaiah* (1928)³⁵ Torrey spoke of Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah as the historical document composed in defence of the Jewish church, and of Ezekiel as its prophecy, "written by a man of imagination and religious insight who believed the legend of the Babylonian sojourn and used that setting for his teaching." The latter was the better theory.

7. On Method

The freedom with which the traditional Hebrew is rejected, and something else substituted for it, on the basis of hasty guesses, is characteristic of the present stage of textual criticism in the Old Testament (C. C. Torrey, *The Second Isaiah*, p. 214).

The fallacy of arguments from literary relationship in biblical research has long been exposed. Eduard König¹ spoke wise words of warning against the rash assumption of literary de-

³³ Ibid. p. 112.

³⁴ Ibid. p. 106.

³⁵ The Second Isaiah, p. 98; see also Notes on the Aramaic Part of Daniel, p. 248 note 1.

¹ De criticae sacrae argumento e linguae legibus repetito, pp. 147-151; also, in ZAW, 28, 1908, pp. 174-179 (on J. Oscar Boyd, 'Ezekiel and the Modern Dating of the Pentateuch,' reprinted [1908] from the Princeton Theological Review).

pendence whenever a similarity presents itself in language or idea. Only very seldom can we establish the priority of a piece of writing solely upon inner grounds of evidence; for the most part a dating based on other grounds must determine questions of literary dependence. To cite a concrete example, to the author of *The Second Isaiah* ² Is. 11, 7-9 is "very plainly an expansion of 65, 25"; he believes himself to have found "indisputable evidence that the passage in chapter 11 is the later." Similarly, he declares, "Is. 9, 5 is the result of reflection on 66, 7 and develops magnificently what was given there in the briefest compass." But the opposite view has been held for centuries and is still securely entrenched as one of the 'assured' results of modern biblical criticism. A different theory of authorship and date of writing reaches a different result regarding literary relationship as well. There is no cogency in so vague and variable an argument. Is. 57, 8 recalls Ezek. 16, 25, as many commentators have found. The author of *The Second Isaiah*,³ however, believes the resemblance to be "purely accidental; there is no literary dependence of the one passage on the other." This may be true; but if the argument from literary relationship is so arbitrary and subjective, how can it be claimed that "of itself, indeed, and without any of the evidence heretofore presented, it is sufficient to stamp Ezekiel as one of the very latest of the Old Testament writings." ⁴

Millar Burrows, while a student under Torrey at Yale, wrote a very useful dissertation on "The Literary Relations of Ezekiel," in which he deserves praise for his scholarly discretion. He believes his diligent labors to have been worth while only "to show how little basis exists for the confident assertion of scholars that this or that author has been influenced by Ezekiel." ⁵ Proceeding upon a different theory from those scholars as to the authorship and circumstances of Ezekiel, he was easily able to detect the dubiousness of many a postulated literary dependence, and to draw the conclusion that if other evidence should lead to the assumption of a different date for Ezekiel,

² *The Second Isaiah*, p. 107.

³ *Ibid.* p. 213.

⁴ *Pseudo-Ezekiel*, p. 90.

⁵ *The Literary Relations of Ezekiel*, 1925, p. 102.

the elastic and illusory argument from literary relationship could not of itself refute such a view. The special value of his book lies in its discipline of refraining from a more definite claim. Torrey, however, somewhat overstates the case when he seems to credit the dissertation with having proved the conclusion "that from indications of literary influence alone Ezekiel would appear to be one of the very latest books of the Old Testament."⁶

The mention of Job and Daniel as types of saintliness and wisdom (14, 4 ff.; 28, 3) has usually been interpreted as an indication that the story associated with the name of each of them must have been known long before its later literary formulation.⁷ A study of comparative literature would furnish many an analogy: ancient sagas on Alexander the Great, dating from the first or second century, were edited in a late Byzantine era after the lapse of many centuries; so also the Milesian legends of Apuleius; or the Hebrew mystic writings, 'Shi'ur Qomah' and 'Hekhaloth,' the contents of which obviously bespeak propinquity in time to the gnosis of the third or fourth century, although their texts appear some half a thousand years later.⁸ The writer of *Pseudo-Ezekiel*, however, asserts the "plain fact" to be that the "author of Ezekiel was familiar both with our book of Job and with the primitive form (chaps. 1-6) of the book of Daniel."⁹ Burrows, upon closer scrutiny of the text, states that "there is no evidence that Ezekiel knew the poem," for there is "lack of contact between the two writers": Ezekiel probably knew only the folk-story of Job.¹⁰ In his analysis of the literary relations between our prophet and Daniel, Burrows finds dependence in the Hebrew part of Daniel, while its "Aramaic portion may well be prior to Ezekiel."¹¹ A similar study by H. A. Redpath¹² enumerates

⁶ *Pseudo-Ezekiel*, p. 92.

⁷ Rabbi Nahman Krochmal מורה נבוכי דזמן (ed. S. Rawidowicz, p. 138) calls attention to the consistently archaic spelling of the name דנאל in Ezekiel, in contradistinction to the scriptio plena of the later Book of Daniel.

⁸ See M. Gaster, 'Das Schiur Komah,' in MGWJ, 37, 1893, p. 230, and Gerhard Scholem, 'Zur Frage der Entstehung der Kabbala,' in Korrespondenzblatt der Akademie für die Wissenschaft des Judentums, Berlin, 1928, pp. 8 f.

⁹ *Pseudo-Ezekiel*, p. 98.

¹⁰ Burrows, p. 84.

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 101.

¹² *The Book of the Prophet Ezekiel* (Westminster Commentaries), London, 1907, p. xxv.

ten passages in evidence of "the influence which the apocalyptic portions of Ezekiel had upon Daniel," extending over the entire book, its Aramaic part included. The difference of the results is due to different theories of the two scholars as to the date and authorship of the books.

Another methodological error, apart from the overprized argument from literary relationship, is the recourse to the still more precarious argument from silence. More manifest than the conclusion drawn from the 'omission' of Jeremiah from the book of Ezekiel is the part this argument plays in the dating of Daniel and subsequently also of 'Pseudo-Ezekiel.' Ben Sira does not mention Daniel, just as, even more strangely, he omits any reference to Ezra. But does his silence suffice for the conclusion that the two books did not exist at his time, or even that Ben Sira did not know them? In *Pseudo-Ezekiel* not a single mention is made of any former attempt to disprove the authenticity of Ezekiel. Moreover wonder is expressed that "the original character of the book, . . . clear as daylight . . . should have remained so long unrecognized."¹³ Does this prove, to mention but one most deserving name, that Zunz did not exist or even that Torrey did not know of him? He is quoted in Burrows's dissertation. There may, however, be another reason for the omission. Perhaps, not altogether unlike Ben Sira, our critic preferred not to be associated with the names he failed to mention, disbelieving in the intrinsic value of their work, and not sharing their views. Ben Sira's eloquent reticence may be due to a Sadducean alienation from writings that lent support to what he may have believed to be but Pharisaic heresy.¹⁴ His inclusion of Ezekiel does not prove, of course, the prophet's Sadduceism; at best it can only confirm evidence independently presented. There is, however, in Ben Sira weighty testimony in favor of the authenticity of Ezekiel: his enumeration of the prophets in the order, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Book

¹³ *Pseudo-Ezekiel*, p. 5.

¹⁴ Cf. Sir. 51, 12 (9) (Hebrew), "Praise him who chose the sons of Zadok to be priests." See V. Aptowitz, *Parteilichkeit der Hasmonäerzeit*, p. xxv; Joseph Halévy, *REJ*, VIII, 53-55; Louis Finkelstein, 'The Pharisees,' in *Harvard Theological Review*, XXII, 1929, pp. 226-229.

of the Twelve, shows that our book at about 200 B.C. occupied its present place in the canon. Burrows candidly confesses: "This is rather surprising if Ezekiel had been in existence only about a generation when Sirach was written. It casts some suspicion upon the genuineness of these verses (Sirach 49, 8 f.)."¹⁵ But the suspicion cast is rather upon the entire theory of Ezekiel as a late pseudepigraphon written about 230 B.C. Torrey strangely avoids discussing the position of Ezekiel in the canon of Ben Sira, remarking only that "this prophet is mentioned, along with the Twelve";¹⁶ he chooses instead to quote the testimony of Melito of Sardis, for an indication of whose historical worth and weight I will refer the reader to G. F. Moore.¹⁷

A similarly suspicious feature of 'Pseudo-Ezekiel' is the fact that not a single internal reason from the book itself is adduced for the date assigned it: no attempt is made to ascertain the historical situation which the prophecy implies. In this respect the new interpretation falls short of even Seinecke. The date 230 B.C. postulated for the pseudepigraphon rests entirely upon external and rather mechanical considerations used to "obtain an interval sufficient to account for the allusions to Daniel and for the mention of Ezekiel by the Siracide."¹⁸ How different is the case of a veritable pseudepigraphon like Daniel, the date of which is obvious from direct and detailed allusions to contemporary events! Similarly, the prophecy of Ezekiel, when accepted as genuine, can even without the use of any of the prophet's own dates be definitely located by the aid of its manifold references to ancient history, both general and Jewish.

Before dwelling in more detail on this advantage of the view which holds the prophecy to be authentic, another error of method must be exposed, for its effect reaches beyond the scope of Ezekiel and has required a thorough revision both of another prophetic book and of the account of a decisive event in the history and religion of ancient Israel. Had it not been for the book of Ezekiel, we are told, not only would the fiction of the Babylonian Golah not have been taken seriously by scholars,

¹⁵ The Literary Relations of Ezekiel, p. 98.

¹⁶ Pseudo-Ezekiel, p. 99.

¹⁷ Judaism, I, p. 246.

¹⁸ Encyclopaedia Britannica, 14th ed., VII, art. 'Daniel.'

but another equally untenable notion now "well nigh universal"¹⁹ would long have been discarded, the belief in a resuscitation of idolatrous cults after Josiah's tragic defeat and death at Megiddo. "The reform of Josiah was successful and its effect lasting, as would long ago have been definitely established but for the confusion which the 'Babylonian' editor of Ezekiel has introduced."²⁰ The attempt to prove this supposition may serve as an example of the critic's method of disposing of overwhelming evidence to the contrary. One by one all the different and independent sources are discredited. The statements in 2 Kings 23, 37; 24, 9.19 are rejected as using a "stereotyped phrase."²¹ The account in 2 Chron. 36, 14, which speaks in most definite terms of heathen abominations in the reign of Zedekiah, is "a homiletic improvement."²² The testimony of Is. 57, 5 to the continuation of child-sacrifice is dismissed as having no bearing on the question.²³ The passages in Jeremiah on the Molekh worship (which alone are chosen for discussion) are either (Jer. 7, 31) assigned to an earlier reign or (Jer. 19, 5) denied to Jeremiah (although even Volz²⁴ holds this to be "echtes jeremianisches Stück") or interpreted to refer to the sins of Judah under Manasseh (Jer. 32, 35), although the prophet, in 32, 31, clearly states that he is speaking of sins committed "even unto this day." After such a feat of exegesis the author believes himself to have 'demonstrated' that all the idolatrous charges in Ezekiel (16, 20 f. 36; 20, 26.31; 23, 37, etc.) "cannot possibly be referred to the days of Jehoiachin and Zedekiah, nor (*a fortiori*) to the days of Jehoiakim,"²⁵ despite their definite and, as we have seen, trustworthy dating in the last years of the southern kingdom.

Such wholesale massacre of all undesirable witnesses cannot but suggest the failure both of Josiah's reform and of the new interpretation of Ezekiel.

Hardly more convincing is the author's method in dealing with Jeremiah. With disregard of all later research, Hitzig's view is renewed that all that precedes chapter 11 belongs to the

¹⁹ Pseudo-Ezekiel, p. 47.

²⁰ Ibid. p. 57.

²¹ Ibid. p. 54.

²² Ibid. p. 55.

²³ Ibid. p. 54 note 21.

²⁴ Der Prophet Jeremia, 2d ed., Leipzig, 1928, p. 202.

²⁵ Pseudo-Ezekiel, p. 57.

years from the thirteenth to the seventeenth of Josiah's reign, although in view of 3, 16 f. this is clearly a mistake. But even if this unwarranted sweeping statement were granted, there are a number of other passages in the subsequent chapters of Jeremiah which clearly prove that Josiah's reform was only a short-lived though lofty episode ²⁶ in the life of the declining kingdom, for example, Jer. 13, 27; 17, 1-4; 18, 15; 22, 20.²⁷ There is good reason to assume that Jer. 11, 9-11 denounces, and thus testifies to, the abrogation of Josiah's reform under Jehoiakim.²⁸ But this will be of little avail for a critic who can, though quite unnecessarily,²⁹ so easily dispose of the date generally assumed for Jer. 7, 1-16. Neither its identity of situation with Jer. 26, which is dated in the beginning of Jehoiakim's reign, nor the nature of the utterance, so singularly pointed and daring that the prophet narrowly escaped death for it, prevents our author from declaring it a repetition "suitable under all circumstances,"³⁰ and hence to be assigned to the days of Josiah. This earlier dating of a great part of Jeremiah only deepens the long felt difficulty in that prophetic book, namely the strange reticence of Jeremiah between 622 and 609. But these incongruities will not be admitted by a critic who believes that behind the oracles on the northern foe in Jer. 3, 13; 6, 22 f. lies the memory of the conquest of Palestine by Alexander the Great in 332 B.C., and that therefore, and for other reasons, the book of Jeremiah "was compiled in the middle of the third century, and that a very considerable part of its material was composed at about the time of the compilation."³¹ On such a view of course all references in the book to Babylon prove nothing but their spuriousness; chapter 29

²⁶ See Hugo Gressmann, 'Josia und das Deuteronomium,' ZAW, 42, 1924, pp. 313-337.

²⁷ This made Hölscher go to the other extreme and declare (ZAW, 40, 1922, p. 238): "gerade aus den Sprüchen Jer. ergibt sich mit aller wünschenswerten Deutlichkeit, dass die lokalen Kultstätten in Juda zu seiner Zeit überhaupt nicht beseitigt worden sind." See also the same writer, *Forschungen zur Rel. und Literatur des A. und N. Testaments*, 1923, pp. 206-213.

²⁸ Volz, p. xxx and pp. 130 f. Compare also Ezekiel 8, 17 וְשׁוּבוּ.

²⁹ Unnecessarily, that is to say, for his own argument, for 7, 31, though in the same chapter, belongs to another unit of discourse.

³⁰ Pseudo-Ezekiel, p. 49.

³¹ Ibid. p. 93.

"stands on no higher plane, in point of historical value, than the 'Epistle of Jeremiah' in the Apocrypha." ³²

A theory entailing such a spectacle of dissection, decomposition, and destruction of not one but several authenticated sources, is condemned on its face.

Another feature of the author's method, touched upon but slightly in a previous chapter, is his predilection for storming old and weak arguments in defence of the authentic prophecy. The refutation of them disproves not the genuineness of Ezekiel but merely the invalid reasons cited in its favor. Such is, for instance, the superannuated and long discarded assumption that all the utterances between two dates belong to the corresponding interval of time, while in truth each date delimits only its immediately following unit,³³ not always constituting even so much as the whole chapter. This, like the other hypothesis, equally mistaken, of the book as composed "in einem Zuge" (Smend) produces the well-argued, but exaggerated, difficulty in Ezekiel's "perplexing records of the seer's prescience."³⁴ Some predictions cited are less definite than Amos 7, 9; others less miraculous than Jer. 28, 16. Some may indeed have been understood by the prophet only "after 586,"³⁵ which implies on his part no more of "criminal carelessness or dishonesty"³⁶ in dating than Hos. 1, 2 or chapter 6 of Isaiah. However, I readily grant some other difficulties in the book of Ezekiel, not yet satisfactorily explained, for instance, 11, 13 or 24, 2. The wholesale rejection of them as vaticinia ex eventu can hardly be termed a solution; that must come from a study of similar and authenticated para-psychic phenomena in our own day,³⁷ or perhaps from a study of literary forms strikingly like them in fully attested and honest religious documents of more recent Hebrew literature.³⁸ Unqualified skepticism is here no more scientific than unqualified credulity.

³² Ibid. p. 105 note 43.

³³ Kraetzschmar, p. xi; Heinisch, p. 18; Johannes Herrmann, *Ezechielstudien*, Leipzig, 1908, pp. 4 f.

³⁴ Pseudo-Ezekiel, p. 72.

³⁵ Ibid. p. 78.

³⁶ Ibid. p. 77.

³⁷ See R. Kittel, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, III, 1, pp. 258-263.

³⁸ For instance, the letter of Rabbi Israel Baal Shem Tob, the founder of Hasidism, appended to the book of R. Jacob Joseph of Polonnoye, *בן פורת יוסף*, Korzec, 1781,

But if some passages require the assumption that Ezekiel, still working on his manuscript in 567 B.C., put into his earlier utterances, not unlike other true prophets, his more recent knowledge of the actual course of events, the theory of *Pseudo-Ezekiel* presupposes for other passages an amount of misinformation and feeble-mindedness which falls little short of imbecility. "The author of the prophecy shows his knowledge of ancient history,"³⁹ which both the detailed description of Tyre's commerce in chapter 27 and the correct dates and circumstances of the siege of that city in 29, 17 fully confirm. The author of 'Pseudo-Ezekiel' must have known that Tyre not only had survived the capture by Nebuchadrezzar and by Alexander the Great, but had successfully resisted the prolonged siege through fifteen months (315-313 B.C.) by the mightiest of Alexander's generals, Antigonus. In fact it passed under the sway of the Seleucids, as later under the rule of the Romans, famous through all political changes for its unabated vitality and "seething with commerce (*ebulliens negotiis*)." How absent-minded must have been the pseudepigrapher of 230 B.C. in the neighboring Jerusalem, when he put into the mouth of a truly inspired prophet of old the prediction that Tyre would not only be entirely destroyed, but would never be rebuilt: "though thou be sought for, yet shalt thou never be found again" (Ezek. 26, 31)! The remark, "apparently an exaggeration of Is. 23:15 ff.,"⁴⁰ bespeaks only the commentator's embarrassment.

Similarly inexplicable in a pseudepigraphon is the prophecy in Ezek. 29, 10-12. But shortly before 'Pseudo-Ezekiel' was written, to quote Torrey,⁴¹ "the crushing blow was inflicted on the northern kingdom by Ptolemy III Euergetes. . . . At no other time in the history of the two kingdoms was the contrast so strongly marked; the northern kingdom was not only impotent, it was actually crumbling. The provinces of the Eu-

shows similar 'carelessness' in dating or confusion of inner and outward reality; cf. S. Dubnow, תולדות החסידות, Tel-Aviv, 1930, p. 62. The childish 'enlightenment' saw in the entire movement only fraud; it never guessed that its founder was of impeccable truthfulness of character, and a religious genius of the highest rank; cf. my Hebrew Reborn, New York, 1930, pp. 143 f.

³⁹ Pseudo-Ezekiel, p. 94.

⁴⁰ Ibid. p. 81.

⁴¹ Encyclopaedia Britannica, 14th ed., VII, p. 29.

phrates and Tigris were now lost; Asia Minor was soon to follow; the two sons of Antiochus II were arrayed against each other." In the decade to follow, the northern kingdom sunk even more, in consequence of the prolonged war, with fortune shifting to and fro between Seleucus II and his brother Antiochus Hierax, all which the Parthians and Galatians, Pergamenes and Egyptians, did not fail to exploit.

How could a pseudepigrapher in 230 B.C., when "the Seleucid kingdom was broken up, and nearly annihilated by the Egyptian power,"⁴² represent a prophet of ancient Israel as predicting that the northern kingdom, the impotent clay of his time, would crush the powerful, ironlike Egypt (Ezek. 30, 24 f.), whose famous and fertile land was to lie uninhabited in utter desolation for forty years (Ezek. 29, 10 f.)? At the end of forty years, when in turn her captor would be defeated,⁴³ God would gather the Egyptians scattered among the nations (30, 26; 29, 13 f.) and lead them back into their primitive homeland in upper Egypt: "It shall be the basest of the kingdoms: for I will diminish them, that they shall no more rule over the nations" (Ezek. 29, 15). This oracle is so closely knit with the rest of Ezekiel's messianic utterances (cf. 11, 17; 16, 53 and 4, 6) that without all others it cannot be dismissed as spurious, or declared to be again "apparently an exaggeration of Jer. 46:19."⁴⁴

Moreover it seems at least strange that an author under Egyptian rule should openly and in the fiercest of terms prophesy the utter destruction of the dominant power in Palestine, but yet should mysteriously avoid the slightest reference to Babylonia, although the historical setting of his narrative, the days of declining Judaea, as well as the historical fact of the actual collapse of Babylonia, would seem to require a prophecy of destruction against the cruel kingdom of the north. This reticence toward Babylonia, though all other enemies of Israel are expressly condemned, is natural in the authentic prophecy, spoken on Babylonian soil and preaching non-resistance to Babylon. Ezekiel has for the Egyptians hardly translatable words of most violent disgust (23, 20), but he shows unconcealed admiration for the beautifully attired (23, 15) "desirable

⁴² Torrey, *Ezra Studies*, p. 338.

⁴³ Kuenen, p. 284.

⁴⁴ Pseudo-Ezekiel, p. 81.

young men" (23, 23) of Babylonia. He speaks almost with recognition of the forbearance and moderation with which the king of Babylon had since 597 B.C. treated Judaea (17, 5 f.), and finds the punishment accorded for her breach of oath but justified (17, 16; 21, 28). Yet the veiled reference in 7, 21 f. bespeaks his patriotic woe and his true estimate of Babylonia, just as his forecast on her ultimate fate is to be read in 4, 6; 29, 13, and in chapters 38 and 39, all strangely concealed if the book be a late pseudepigraphon, but most natural for the ancient contemporary of Jeremiah, who preached allegiance to Babylon against Egypt.⁴⁵

Likewise contradictions exist in 'Pseudo-Ezekiel's' prophecies in regard to some other foreign peoples. The Ammonites, for instance, are predicted to be "cut off from the peoples and caused to perish out of the countries" (Ezek. 25, 7), that they "may not be remembered among the nations" (25, 10). But they lived on, as the Judaeian writer in 230 B.C. must have known well: in fact we find them still fighting with the Hebrews even in the days of Judas Maccabaeus.⁴⁶

The author of 'Pseudo-Ezekiel' shows similar lack of acquaintance with the facts of his own history. In almost ludicrous ineptitude he 'predicted' complete destruction not only of Jerusalem, but of the whole land in all its habitations (Ezek. 6, 14) and wholesale death to its entire population (7, 14). Moreover he foresaw the deliverance of the tribes of northern Israel in 273 B.C. and the redemption of Judaea in 233 B.C. (4, 5), his book having been written scarcely three or four years after that decisive messianic event! For all this plump disagreement with the concrete facts of the assumed historical situation the author of *Pseudo-Ezekiel* has but one explanation to offer: "The predictions . . . are hardly intended to be taken literally; they have the flavor and high color of the apocalypse. . . ." ⁴⁷

The prophecy if authentic suits all dates and details of ancient

⁴⁵ Heinisch, p. 124: "Ein Orakel gegen Babel hätte die Deportierten mit falschen Hoffnungen erfüllt und zum Widerstande gegen die Macht gereizt. Ez. hatte ja alle Mühe ihnen klar zu machen, dass das Exil lange dauern würde." Compare also Kuenen, p. 276; Klamroth, p. 83.

⁴⁶ 1 Macc. 5, 6 f.

⁴⁷ Pseudo-Ezekiel, p. 81.

history and offers reliable information on the era in question, as other ancient sources and recent archaeological discoveries prove. 'Pseudo-Ezekiel' disdains all contact with earth and its realities;⁴⁸ his is a rhetorical flurry, "apparently an exaggeration" of borrowed passages from other writers, in 'apocalyptic' discord with the historic facts of his time. The exiled prophet, as all the other 'invalids' who do the world's work, may have had some features decried as abnormal by the healthy, compact majority of the uncreative, although most of such features are incidental to a psychopathic exegesis. 'Pseudo-Ezekiel' is a morally deficient plagiarist, a flighty fanatic, who sees death and desert in places where peoples live and prosper; an imbecile sky-gazer who never thought anything that was true: he erred about Tyre, blundered about Egypt, was "likewise inconsistent with the reality" in regard to the Ammonites, betrayed gross ignorance of the actual history of his own people and his own country, and spoke sheer nonsense, if it was not crazed hallucination, about his most recent past! Understood as a genuine prophecy of the sixth century, the book provides in full measure the political guidance and the religious instruction that its historic situation called for. The Ptolemaic pseudepigraphon is a wholly unintelligible and obscure writing, with no other concrete aim save delight in orating, no other immediate message but the one pirated from previous prophets, with no historical information save such as is misconstrued in "apparent exaggeration" from other sources. It is instead richly colored with the "flavor of the apocalypse," which means only glaring disagreement with its own time and place: indeed, if someone is "only beating the air," it is surely not the seer of Tel Abib.

Pseudo-Ezekiel concludes⁴⁹ with an apt quotation from Driver in regard to the book of Deuteronomy, which Torrey finds equally true as applied to our prophecy: "There is nothing implying an interested or dishonest motive on the part of the

⁴⁸ Our author, and our readers, will recognize here echoes from Torrey's brilliant series of arguments against the dismemberment of Second Isaiah to make a basketful of little authors. One honors an author best when requesting him 'patere legem quam ipse tulisti.'

⁴⁹ *Pseudo-Ezekiel*, p. 113.

author; and this being so, its moral and spiritual greatness remains unimpaired." This is more true than our author admits, for it applies as well to the 'Babylonian setting' of Ezekiel, which we have found to be not forged by a fraudulent propagandist but woven in compelling organic genuineness of the same homogeneous language and content as the entire prophecy, alike trustworthy and alike authentic, so as to constitute one indivisible and integral document of ancient and exilic Israel. The Babylonian Golah and its prophet are fact, not fiction.

"Imagining and recording of what 'must have been' said and done is a perfectly legitimate and effective device, a well-recognized branch of Hebrew literature, early and late."⁵⁰ Undoubtedly. The "employment of the historical imagination"⁵¹ is legitimate and useful not only in belles lettres, but even in scientific research — provided it fits the known facts and supplements rather than disregards the testimony of the sources. Speculation, however, on what 'must or might have been' in wilful interpretation not of, but against, well-attested ancient records, cannot but spell (to quote Torrey's own conjecture to Ezek. 7, 7)⁵² 'mehuma welo harhorim,' 'disaster, not imaginings.'

I cannot, however, part from this book without a much more fitting citation from its author, ever original and stimulating, useful even when he errs, brilliant in exposing many a weakness in current scientific beliefs, acute in detecting unfelt difficulties in ancient records, traits by all of which he furthers and improves the methods of human knowledge. The quotation with which I salute the author in farewell is taken from his *Second Isaiah*,⁵³ but suits even better the so often disparaged or dissected, in either case maltreated, Ezekiel: "If the tone of controversy in the foregoing should seem now and then unduly sharp, I can only say that (to my regret) sharpness is unavoidable in view of the matters that are at stake. . . . If a note of strong feeling sounds here and there, it is in defense of a great cause and of a person who has long been misjudged."

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid. p. 5.

⁵² Ibid. p. 26; cf. Toy, *The Book of Ezekiel in Hebrew*, p. 52.

⁵³ *The Second Isaiah*, pp. 218 f.

A PRELIMINARY STUDY OF ALCUIN'S BIBLE

EDWARD KENNARD RAND

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

ONE of the achievements of recent scholarship forever to be identified with Ludwig Traube's name is the combination of history, palaeography, and textual criticism as an indispensable guide to the understanding of early mediaeval culture. The investigator of the course of politics and of letters works at second hand if he knows not the characteristics of those manuscripts in which contemporary events are recorded, or of those in which the treasures of the past were handed down to the Middle Ages. The palaeographer must consider his books not only as specimens of script but as witnesses for the text of the works they contain and as monuments of the culture of the times. The textual critic ploughs an arid field if the codices of an author are to him but A and B and C, to be hung from a stemma according to the value of their readings and their interrelations. These separate studies, which indeed call for diverse methods and diverse trainings, are but parts of a single science — a harmonious and comprehensive view of the life of an epoch. Traube of course had precursors in this complicated art, but his brilliant pursuit of it entitles him to what he himself would disclaim — the rank of a founder.

Since Traube's day the study of the art of illumination in manuscripts — a matter in which of course he was profoundly interested — has taken gigantic strides. Palaeographers and historians of art have come to see that their subjects have the most intimate connection. The former no longer look at the pretty pictures or initials with a foolish face of praise and pass on to the serious business of the script. The latter no longer neglect the mere script in their appraisal of the technique of illumination. A four-fold, not a three-fold, examination of these ancient monuments is now in order. They yield their full story only to those who consider their script, their art, their text, and their relation to contemporary history.

The first scholar to do adequate justice in a vast and comprehensive work to all these aspects is Wilhelm Köhler, who published last year the first instalment of one of the great works of our time, *Die Karolingischen Miniaturen im Auftrage des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* (Berlin, Bruno Cassirer).¹ This first volume, accompanied by a collection of 124 plates, is devoted to 'Die Schule von Tours,' specifically to 'Die Ornamentik,' that is, to the art displayed in the ornamentation, particularly that of the initials and canon tables; a subsequent volume, which we hope will soon appear, will discuss the pictures. Köhler approaches the subject from the side of art and it is there that he speaks with an especial authority, but his plan, once more, embraces those other aspects of the mediaeval book which we have learned are essential.

It happens that the writer of this paper has been engaged for the same length of time — since 1911 — with precisely the same monuments of art, the books of the School of Tours, in an attempt to trace the history of their script. The results of this study have been set forth in a volume published by the Mediaeval Academy of America in 1929, entitled *A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours*, with a collection of 200 plates;^{1a} it is the first instalment of a work entitled *Studies in the Script of Tours* of which the remaining portion will be written either by myself or by my pupils. A review of this work by Köhler and one by me of his work, accompanied by comments on the text of the Tours Bible by Dom D. de Bruyne,^{1b} have just appeared in the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*. Though we have been in constant communication since the summer of 1925, aware of the concordant, and the discordant, results to which our studies have brought us, these reviews were written independently. They both contain certain general remarks on the different

¹ My references to Köhler, unless otherwise stated, are to this work. The title quoted for it, when necessary, is 'Die Schule von Tours.' References to the plates are prefixed with 'K.'

^{1a} I will refer to this work as 'Survey,' and prefix references to the plates with 'R.'

^{1b} *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 193 (1931), 321-359. I will refer to this conjoint review as 'G. G. A.' The editors kindly allowed me to see a proof of it, but the present article was in print before I could avail myself of the criticisms of Köhler and Dom de Bruyne. I can do them only partial justice here.

methods of palaeographers and historians of art, on the different data accessible to them, and on the necessity of coöperation in their similar and dissimilar tasks. My review was restricted to the general aspects of Köhler's book, to the indication of the surprisingly harmonious results to which we have independently attained, and to the points of difference — important points — that still remain.

The present paper is concerned primarily with these points of difference. In treating so minutely of manuscript illumination and palaeography in a journal devoted to theology, I offer as excuse to its readers the consideration that these matters, as I have just explained, are essentially a part of the investigation of the text of Alcuin's Bible, and that Alcuin's recension, as has recently been demonstrated anew by Dom Quentin,¹⁰ represents an important moment in the history of the text of St. Jerome's version of the Scriptures. As will only too plainly appear, the treatment of the text in the present paper, a matter that I thought it discreet to avoid altogether in my recent book, is based on the investigations of Köhler and Corssen, and while making, I hope, some slight advance on the results achieved by them, is entirely of a tentative and preliminary character. Further progress may not be expected — certainly not from the new critical method invented by Dom Quentin,^{1d} until complete collations are available of hitherto neglected manuscripts of the school of Tours.

I

I can best acquaint the reader of this REVIEW with the general outcome of Köhler's investigation and my own by repeating from my review of his work in the *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* the account of our appraisal of the manuscripts with which he is concerned. One will also find there the discussion of the evidence on which palaeographers depend and of its

¹⁰ *Mémoire sur l'Établissement du Texte de la Vulgate* (Collectanea Biblica Latina, VI), Rome and Paris, 1922, pp. 267-297.

^{1d} On this see *Harvard Theological Review*, XVII, 1924, 197-204. A convenient review of recent utterances on critical method is given by F. Peeters, 'Les différents systèmes de classement des manuscrits,' in *Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles*, 1931, pp. 468-485.

superiority, in point of abundance, to that which is accessible to historians of art. One may then compare that discussion, to his amusement and his profit, with the equally convincing demonstration on the part of my friend Köhler that we can trace better from the illumination than from the script the development of the book-making art at Tours.²

Köhler has grouped his manuscripts under five classes, the first four being determined by the abbots who presided successively over St. Martin's, and the last including the remainder of the ninth century after the sack of St. Martin's by the Normans in 853. These periods are:

- I. Alcuin (796-804).
- II. Fridugisus (807-834).
- III. Adalhard (834-843).
- IV. Vivian (843-851).
- V. The Second Half of the Century (after 853).

My own studies carried me to the period before Alcuin, where the amount of illumination was negligible for Köhler's purposes. I found it convenient to mark out the periods discussed as follows:

- I. The Earliest Books of Tours.
- II. The Irish at Tours.

These two periods are confined to the eighth century.³

- III. The Pre-alcuinian Style.
- IV. The Reforms of Alcuin (796-804).

Here two different styles, IVa and IVb are distinguished, the latter representing the reforms introduced, as I think, by Alcuin.

- V. The Régime of Fridugisus (807-834).
- VI. The Mid-century (835-853).
- VII. The Post-mid-century Style (853-c. 875).
- VIII. Tours and the Franco-Saxon Style.

This movement, I ventured to suggest, began not long after the mid-century and ran along parallel to VII. I am encouraged

² G. G. A., pp. 332-336, 347-351.

³ Several of my reviewers have doubted the existence of my Irish Period in the history of the script, and their criticism may be just. The matter needs further discussion, however, and I will revert to it in the second volume planned for the series, to be called *The Earliest Books of Tours*.

still to believe in its existence by certain remarks that Köhler lets drop and by the evidence that he has accumulated on the text of the Bibles of Tours.

IX. The End of the Century (c. 875-900).

It will be noted that Köhler's Periods I and II are identical with my IV and V. In the subsequent periods I do not specially distinguish the abbacy of Adalhard, not finding him conspicuously mentioned. I do recognize a splendid progress from the art under Fridugisus to that under Vivian. At the end I distinguish movements after 853 as Köhler does not, since 853 is a very good point at which to end his treatment.

I will now repeat Köhler's list, which he arranges in an approximately chronological order. I add after each book its number in my book and the number of the period to which in my classification I have assigned it, with incidental quotation from my descriptions.

Alcuin (796-804)

1. St. Gall 75. Bible. (No. 33. IVa. Not lately or adequately examined by me. This was a tentative assignment.)
2. St. Gall 268. Alcuin, *Grammatica*. (No. 232. Rejected from my list.)
3. Paris, B. N. lat. 4333 B. *Regulae Monasticae*. (No. 19. III. This manuscript would seem "just to have preceded the Reform or soon to have followed its appearance.")
4. Paris, B. N. lat. 260. Gospels. (No. 36. IVa and IVb. "An excellent specimen of the different varieties cultivated under Alcuin.")
5. London, British Museum, Harley 2790. Gospels of St. Cyr of Nevers. (No. 27. IVa. The work of Gedeon. "The book might perhaps have been done about that date [820]." One of the hands is Regular.)
6. Troyes 1742. Alcuin, *Varia*. (No. 38. IVa and IVb. "Assigned by Köhler with great probability to Alcuin's time.")
7. London, British Museum, Harley 2793. Psalter. (No. 28. IVa. "About the same date as Harley 2790.")

8. Leyden, Voss. L. F. 73. Nonius Marcellus. (No. 26. IVa. "A later member of this group.")
9. Paris, B. N. lat. 17227. Gospels. (No. 30. IVa. "The work of Adalbaldus . . . always elegant. On the whole, the script should not be classed as Regular.")
10. Monza, G. 1. Bible. (No. 29. IVa. "The scribe is Amalricus. . . . He might have written the manuscript about that time [820] or ten years or so before.")
11. Ghent 102 (Marmoutier). St. Jerome, *Expositio in Isaiam*. (No. 24. IVa. "An excellent specimen." Known to me only through Traube's and Köhler's photographs.)

Fridugisus (807-834)

12. Paris, B. N. lat. 11514. Bible (part of Old Testament). (No. 57. IVb. "Improved Cursive and Regular. Some sixteen hands. Illumination suggesting the Embellished Merovingian variety.")
13. London, British Museum, Harley 2805. Bible (first half). (No. 49. IVb. "About a dozen hands," some with cursive traits, Hand M [IVa] found also in Morgan 191 [No. 21 below] and Angers 1-2.⁴ Connection in quire-contents with B. N. lat. 68, 11514, and Angers 1-2. "Perhaps done at Marmoutier.")
14. Paris, B. N. lat. 68. Bible (part of Old Testament). (No. 50. IVb. "About a dozen hands," with some cursive traits in all of them. Hand B similar to that of Amalricus in the Bible of Monza. On quire-contents see No. 13. "Perhaps done at Marmoutier.")
15. Basel, A. N. I. 3. Bible. (No. 95. V. "Closely allied to the manner of Tours but not quite the genuine product." Known to me then only through Köhler's photographs, but since then, in the summer of 1929, examined with care. I should now assign an earlier date to it, but still regard it as the product not of Tours but of some monastery under its influence.)

⁴ I stated also that this hand is likewise found in my No. 32, Paris, Ste. Geneviève 1260, but I am now uncertain of the identity.

16. Zürich, C. 1. Bible. (No. 63. IVb. Carefully reëxamined in the summer of 1929. I still agree with those who regard this book, even if not done under Alcuin, as giving a fairly satisfactory idea of the style of the Bible presented by him to Charlemagne.)
17. Bern 3-4. Bible. (No. 73. V.)
18. Stuttgart, II. 40. Bible. (No. 103. V. Known to me only through Traube's and Köhler's photographs. "Script and art suggest No. 79 [Gospels of St. Gozlin at Nancy]. Could this be another of the productions of Adalbaldu?")
19. London, British Museum, Add. 11848. Gospels of Compiègne. (No. 78. V.)
20. Paris, B. N. lat. 250. New Testament. (No. 81. V. "A date near 820.")
21. New York, The Pierpont Morgan Library 191. Gospels. (No. 35. IVa and IVb. A torso [Mark, Luke, and John] in the Regular Style, with cursive traits in one hand, supplemented [Matthew and prefatory matter] by a hand found also in Harley 2805 and Angers 1-2.)
22. Quedlinburg 79. Martinellus. (No. 88. V. By Adalbaldu. "Script and illumination suggest the period of the Grandval Bible," the date of which I gave as 820-830.)
23. Laon 220. Amalarius, *De Officiis et de Ordine Ecclesiastico*. (No. 75. V. "Not long after the work appeared," i. e. the first edition, 820-823.)
24. The Hague, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum Q. 5. (No. 98. V. Known only through Köhler's photographs and only doubtfully placed here. "Rather Turonizing than Tours.")
25. Cologne 107. Alcuin, *Expositio in Iohannem*. (No. 48. IVb. Known only through Köhler's photograph. My friend Leslie W. Jones later gave this book a thorough examination and placed it late in the period IVb.)
26. Bern 165. Virgil. (No. 64. IVb. A later member of the group. "Possibly, but not probably, it should be placed in Group V.")

Adalhardus (834-843)

27. Paris, B. N. lat. 3. The Bible of Rorigo. (No. 80. V. "A splendid example of the style achieved at the end of the régime of Fridugisus or the beginning of that of Adalhardus.")
28. Nancy. Gospels of St. Gozlin. (No. 79. V. "Probably the work of one hand, which closely resembles that of Adalbaldus.")
29. Paris, B. N. lat. 274. Gospels of Meaux. (No. 82. V.)
30. Wolfenbüttel 2186. Gospels. (No. 128. VI. Known to me only through the photographs of Traube and Köhler and assigned only doubtfully to this period.)
31. London, British Museum, Add. 10546. The Moûtiers-Grandval Bible. (No. 77. V. "Date 820-830. One of the best products under Fridugisus." "Some of these [initials] replace an earlier and simple variety.")
32. Paris, B. N. 10848. Martinellus. (No. 56. IVb. Written apparently in the régime of Landramnus of Tours [816-835]. I was inclined to date the book "much nearer the former date than the latter." "Placed by Köhler in the same group as the Bamberg Bible.")
33. Basel, B. II. 11. Gospels. (No. 96. V. Placed tentatively in Period V. After examining the book again in the summer of 1929, I would assign it to the latter part of that period.)
34. Bamberg, A. I. 5. Bible. (No. 47. IVb. "At least four main hands," all Regular except B, a graceful hand, which retains cursive traits. "Not done in Alcuin's lifetime, on account of a medallion picturing Alcuin with a halo. Perhaps not too long after his death, on the same account.")
35. Vienna 468. Martinellus. (No. 104. V. Assigned with uncertainty to this period. A later examination by Dr. Jones confirms this assignment.)
36. Leningrad, Q. v. 1. no. 21. Gospels. (No. 102. V. "Placed by Köhler in the same group with" the Basel Gospels, the Bamberg Bible, and the Vienna Mar-

tinellus [Nos. 33-35]. "I should associate it rather with the Bamberg Boethius [No. 39].")

Vivian (843-851)

37. Autun 19 bis. Sacramentarium Gregorianum. (No. 105. VI. Written for Raganaldus, abbot of Marmoutier, c. 844.)
38. Paris, B. N. 1. First Bible of Charles the Bald. (No. 116. VI. "This most splendid of the great Bibles of Tours was done at the command of the Abbot Vivian [845-851]." Köhler now has demonstrated that the date of presentation is the year 846.)
39. Bamberg, H. J. IV. 12. Boethius, *Arithmetica*. (No. 71. V. "Presented to . . . Charles the Bald. Hence after 832, but very close to that date. A splendid monument of the efficacy of Fridugisus or his immediate successor, with the elegance of Adalbaldus though not in his hand." The artist-scribe may well be identical, as I have recently observed, with that of the Gospels of Prüm. See the following book.)
40. Berlin, Theol. lat. F. 733. Gospels of Prüm. (No. 107. VI. Acquired by the Abbey of Prüm from the Emperor Lothair. See the preceding book.)
41. Paris, B. N. 266. Gospels of Lothair. (No. 119. VI. Between 843 and 855. "The unsurpassed model of perfection in script and ornament among the books of Tours." See below No. 47.)
42. Laon 63. Gospels. (No. 112. VI. "One of the typically splendid books of Tours.")
43. Paris, B. N. 9385. The Du Faye Gospels. (No. 121. VI. "Almost a rival for the Gospels of Lothair, in a somewhat later stage, say about 860. In the same general group with B. N. 261 and 267 [Nos. 54 and 52], though these are, I feel, still later books.")
44. The Hague, Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum. Fragment (canon tables). (Unfortunately not noticed in my book.)

45. Chartres 24. Liber Comitit. (No. 74. V. "The work of Audradus of Tours . . . 820-830.")
46. Rome, Vat. Urb. 1146. "Apicius," *De Re Coquinaria*. (No. 90. V. "In beauty the script is a rival of the best of Tours. Harmony of colors not so perfect as that of the mid-century.")

The Second Half of the Century (after 853)

47. London, Beatty 8. Gospels. (No. 115. VI. "One of the splendid books of Tours — a member of the inner circle." Hand A "perhaps identical with that of the Du Faye Gospels and B perhaps identical with that of the Gospels of Lothair.")
48. Dijon, Archives Générales. Fragment of the Gospel of St. Matthew. (No. 109. VI. "The fragment bespeaks the loss of one of the great products of Tours.")
49. Cologne 1. Bible. (No. 137. VII. Doubtfully assigned. A subsequent examination by Dr. Jones confirms the assignment.)
50. Paris, B. N. 263. Gospels. (No. 118. VI. "In a class with the Gospels of Lothair and the Du Faye Gospels.")
51. Paris, B. N. 47. The Faure Bible (incomplete). (No. 117. VI. "In spite of the simple ornamentation, the script of this book seems later than that of the Vivian Bible. The semiuncial shows signs of degeneracy.")
52. Paris, B. N. 267. Gospels. (No. 133. VII. "A bit on the decline. The hand may be that of No. 131 [B. M. Add. 11849] and No. 153 [Beatty 11]." See also No. 143 A [B. N. lat. 13388].)
53. Paris, B. N. 13388. *Confessio S. Fulgentii*, etc. (No. 143 A. VIII. "Perhaps a bit on the decline. The scribe of B. M. Add. 11849, B. N. 267, and Beatty 11 [Hand A] reappears.")
54. Paris, B. N. 261. Gospels of Le Mans. (No. 132. VII. The Perfected Style of script, but "beginning to degenerate.")
55. London, British Museum, Add. 11849. Gospels. (No.

131. VII. "Perfected, yet a bit decadent. The hand may be a somewhat later stage of that in No. 133 [B. N. lat. 267].")
56. Berlin 115 (Phillipp. 1877). Martinellus. (No. 108. VI. "Perhaps the most beautiful Martinellus in existence." See the following book.)
57. Paris, B. N. lat. 5582. Martinellus. (No. 120. VI. "An *édition de luxe*, contesting the palm with No. 108." See the preceding book.)
58. Paris, B. N. Nouv. Acq. lat. 1589. Sacramentarium Gregorianum. (No. 161. IX. "Decadent Perfected and Revived Cursive.")
- 59, 60. Tours 184 + Paris, B. N. lat. 9430. Sacramentarium Gregorianum. (This severed manuscript contains three sacramentaries. I put Part II in Period VII and Parts I and III [No. 165] in Period IX.)

The reader will note a surprising agreement in our general results — all the more surprising when one considers the paucity of exactly dated manuscripts of the school of Tours. In all of the eleven books that Köhler calls Alcuinian, I see reflected a style, or styles, that were fostered by Alcuin. One (No. 3) may possibly have been written just before Alcuin arrived.⁵ Two (Nos. 1 and 2) may have been done not at Tours but at some monastery at which, either under Alcuin's régime or shortly after, the influence of Tours was operative. We both admit that what he calls the Alcuinian style and I the Embellished Merovingian style, *one* of the varieties cultivated at Tours in that period, was not abruptly cut off at Alcuin's death. Just how far Köhler would extend its continuance I do not know. Apparently he would not admit so late a date for Nos. 5 and 7 as 820, which I am inclined to assign to them.⁶

⁵ Though not completely certain, I am ready to change my estimate of the script of this book and to associate it with those manuscripts which are both IVa and IVb in style. Hand B (R, Plate XXXI, 3, 4) is very near to the Regular Style. Köhler refers to the book as a "Kuriosum" (p. 43), applying that epithet, I assume, merely to the rude picture of a baptism found on fol. 260 (K, 3e; R, XXXI. 2). I am not sure that this is not a later addition.

⁶ See my article on Dodaldus, written as a supplement for that of Dom Wilmart in *Speculum*, VI (1931), 587-599.

Even more striking is our accord on the fifteen manuscripts that he assigns to the abbacy of Fridugisus. Here again I find that one (No. 15) is a product of a Turonizing School rather than of Tours itself. Another (No. 24), with which I have insufficient acquaintance, I should place in the same category. For the last two on the list (Nos. 25 and 26) I am ready to accept his later dating in place of that to which I was formerly inclined. The Morgan Gospels, which he had not seen, is a special case. With his judgment, based primarily on the illumination, I concur, seeing that the core of the book, Alcuinian in my estimation, was made over at some later time, not at some other centre, as I once supposed, but at Tours, though possibly not at St. Martin's but at Marmoutier. As to the remaining books, our agreement is really extraordinary. Here are ten manuscripts (Nos. 12-14, 16-20, 22, 23) of Tours which we have placed within the same period of about thirty years. Moreover, the first four on his list I call Alcuinian (IVb), assuming, as in the case of IVa, that some of them, though reflecting one of the styles — the most characteristic of the styles — cultivated under Alcuin, may have been written after his death, yet within fifteen years or so of that time. They belong at any rate in the earlier part of the thirty years under discussion. The last six books on his list (the later books, that is) are the later ones in my estimate, since they are assigned to Period V. Such unanimity of result on the part of two investigators working independently on a subject bristling with perplexities is a guarantee of the general trustworthiness of their methods and of the prospect, after necessary adjustments on both sides, of a tolerably certain history of the script of Tours.

Under Adalhardus, Köhler lists ten books (Nos. 27-36), two of which (Nos. 32 and 34) I assigned to Period IVb and one of which, imperfectly known to me (No. 30), I placed in Period VI. I will say at once that this tentative assignment of the Wolfenbüttel Gospels was incorrect. Köhler has amply demonstrated the kinship of this book in both art and text with No. 29, the Gospels of Meaux. I allowed for the possibility (see under No. 27) that some of the books ascribed to Period V might have been done either later under Fridugisus or early under Adalhar-

dus. In general, however, my tendency was, and is, to put these books somewhat earlier than Köhler would have them. For all that, the outer limits of the period that would accommodate our different assignments are 820 and 843 — even if some of our books persist in occupying the opposite corners of the room, they are within hailing distance of each other. Of the two remaining exceptions, I will allow No. 32 to take a few courteous steps in the direction of the year 835, but not, I am afraid, far enough for Köhler. The remaining exception, No. 34, the Bamberg Bible, has always been a bone of contention between us — and there still remain pickings on the bone.

Ten books are referred to the abbacy of Vivian. Six of these are correspondingly of Period VI by my reckoning. The Hague fragment (No. 44) I had not known at all. No. 39, the Bamberg Boethius, I still think nearer to 832 than Köhler would put it. The last two books on the list (Nos. 45 and 46) deserve special treatment. One of them, the Chartres *Liber Comitis* will be found, like the Bamberg Bible, of crucial importance.

A dozen books remain, which Köhler assigns to the second half of the century, after, that is, the sack of St. Martin's by the Normans in 853. Without dwelling here on our minor disagreements, I would point with particular emphasis to Köhler's order in his arrangement of B. N. lat. 266, 9385, 263, 47, 267, 261, and B. M. Add. 11849 (Nos. 41, 43, 50, 51, 52, 54, 55). The casual observer, though doubtless immediately appreciative of the supremacy of the Gospels of Lothair, might well find the others of an indistinguishable beauty. It will be gathered, however, from my notes that my order, constructed independently, is exactly the same as Köhler's. Such concurrence, to repeat, augurs well for further efforts on both sides to determine with some exactness the history of the script and the illumination of Tours.^{6a}

^{6a} Of my list of 232 manuscripts, Köhler, in his review (G. G. A., pp. 323 ff.), discusses or mentions 56, most of which he thinks ought to be weeded out. Of these, as he makes clear, I had indicated 18 as doubtful. In the case of three (Nos. 49, 50, 57) it is not the attribution to Tours but the (tentative) attribution to Marmoutier that he calls in question. Seven on the list are books regarded as dubious by me, but as certainly products of Tours by him. There are then but 28 in the list of 232 that he would exclude. I am gratified by this result.

II

I now proceed to an examination of the different periods marked out by Köhler in the history of the School of Tours, with attention to the matters, large and small, on which our opinions are still at variance.

1. *Alcuin*

The general style of art characteristic of Alcuin's time is, according to Köhler, that of the St. Gall Bible, and is therefore rather primitive. As I view the matter, it is, once more, the Bamberg Bible that, even if not done under Alcuin, at least gives us a good general idea of the script and the art that he fostered. That is the important issue which distinguishes our different accounts, and which, let us hope, will be settled one way or the other by further investigation of the art and the script of Tours. I can offer here only a few suggestions. First, I find it natural to suppose that the Bible presented by Alcuin through Fridugisus to Charlemagne, probably in 801,⁷ was a fairly sumptuous affair. That is not merely because the later Bibles of Tours were sumptuous,⁸ but because Alcuin as the head of the Schola Palatina had directed the preparation of certain elaborately beautiful volumes intended for the emperor or for members of his household. Some of them are extant — in particular, the Gospels of Godescalc, the Dagulf Psalter, and the Ada Gospels⁹ — and they reveal a wealth of design, a harmony of colors, and a lavish use of purple, silver, and gold that equal or at times surpass the elaboration of the Mid-century books of Tours. Here one will find vines in plenty, with tendrils and grapes. Interlacings abound, some of them in the broken or 'intermittent' style, which according to Köhler was

⁷ See Köhler, p. 83.

⁸ Köhler speaks (p. 34) as though this oldfashioned idea had been exploded by palaeographical investigation. But eminent palaeographers like Steffens, Chroust, Prou, and Fischer (see *The Vatican Livy*, p. 23) have not abandoned an Alcuinian date for the Bamberg Bible.

⁹ There has of course been much discussion of the centre or centres with which these works should be associated. I am subscribing to what seem to me the unassailable arguments of the late lamented Rudolf Beer in *Monumenta Palaeographica Vindobonensia*, I, 1910, 29-68.

not introduced at Tours till after Alcuin's time.¹⁰ There are many features of both these books that suggest a subtle translation of Irish designs into French.

I would also call attention again to the poetical epitaph on Pope Hadrian I, sent to Rome after the latter's death on Christmas Day, 795.¹¹ Here we see in the square capitals and in the graceful vine that fills the border a renaissance of ancient script and art. Even if Alcuin is not the author of the verses — and in Köhler's opinion¹² he may well have been — here is a monument which Alcuin in all probability knew and which may well have given him suggestions for the reform of script in general.¹³ Really, if with memories of all these splendid presents in mind Alcuin had commissioned his beloved pupil to offer to the emperor a book of the workmanship of St. Gall 75, he should have been rewarded, to say the least, with a sentence of exile.

Another argument from antecedent probability that products of Tours could be sumptuous in Alcuin's day, may be gathered from the remarkable Bibles written for Theodulf at Orléans. The two most splendid are B. N. lat. 9380 and that kept in the treasury of the Cathedral at Le Puy.¹⁴ These books, sister volumes, twin sisters indeed, were, by common consent, written by order of Theodulf and probably under his personal supervision. They were begun at some time after 801, since Theodulf uses Alcuin's recension, and were finished at some time before Theodulf's exile in 817 or 818.¹⁵ Dom Quentin, in his "Mé-

¹⁰ First in B. N. lat. 11514, see p. 115. For the Dagulf Psalter, done before 795, see e. g. Mon. Pal. Vind. I, pl. 22, and for the Godescalc Gospels, done between 781 and 783, of which I possess photographs, fol. 4^r.

¹¹ Not 796, as Köhler has it, p. 87.

¹² P. 87.

¹³ Cf. Survey, pp. 41-43, and what is said of the ornamentation of the Golden Gospels preserved in Tours 22, with particular attention to the vine-decoration, pp. 44, 102 f., plate XXXIV.

¹⁴ See Delisle, 'Les Bibles de Théodulf,' Bibliothèque de l'École de Chartes, XL, 1879, 5-17. I have had the privilege of examining both of these books with some care, and would express my thanks both to my friends Messieurs Omont and Lauer of the Bibliothèque Nationale and to the Abbé Joseph Vacher, canon of the Cathedral at Le Puy, who put the beautiful volume at my disposal in the summer of 1929 and wrote most informing answers to various questions which I later asked him.

¹⁵ See S. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, 1893, p. 148. Of course there is a possibility, to which I referred in my review of Dom Quentin (*Harvard Theological Review*,

moire sur l'Établissement du Texte de la Vulgate,"¹⁶ assumes too early a date in calling them saec. VIII/IX, since Alcuin's Bible was finished no earlier than 801; but it was certainly not much later than Alcuin's death, if not before it, that the Bibles of Theodulf were begun. Alcuin and Theodulf were rivals. The latter used a script that presupposes the existence of the Regular Style of Tours. The forms of the letters in the two Bibles are modelled closely on the manner of St. Martin's. Open *a* and ligatures are consciously avoided. There are rare occurrences of the former and some hands permit the use of the ligature of *s* and *t*, but the principle of the exclusion of these cursive traits is as clear in Theodulf's Bibles as it is in the Regular Style of Tours.

Furthermore, the lettering employed is exceedingly small. The scribes of Tours were in the habit, even before Alcuin, of adopting for tables of contents (*capitula*) a smaller variety than that used for the text. It was later used for Psalms and Gospels when these works were part of a Bible, and eventually, — not before the Mid-century, it would seem — for an entire text. I have called this small font 'Capitulary Script,' or 'Tiny Tours.'¹⁷ Now both of Theodore's books are written in this minute hand. What about the *capitula*? Why, in something smaller still — the tiniest of the tiny. And yet the letters are perfectly made and easily read by one of normal eyesight. The effort is to contain, without the appearance of crowding, the entire Bible in a volume of moderate dimensions; the books measure 328 × 230 (Le Puy) and 312 × 213 (Paris), with a script-space in each column of 230 × 70 (Le Puy) and 230 × 70 (Paris).¹⁸ The great Bibles of Tours, to take the Bamberg and the Zürich books as specimens, are 477 × 362 (Bamberg) and

XVII, 1924, 222), that the books of Le Puy and Paris were copies made of the original of Theodulf and therefore that they might have been written after his death (821). As I ponder the matter, this possibility seems far from being a probability.

¹⁶ P. 250.

¹⁷ See Survey, Index, p. 235, s. v.

¹⁸ Minor differences doubtless would appear if every page were measured. Those that I selected happened to be exactly the same. We can say at any rate that the same norm was followed in both books. The Paris book has simply lost more of its margins. This is a good example of the necessity of recording the script-space as well as the size of the volume.

490 × 362 (Zürich), with a column of 356 × 116 (Bamberg) and 362 × 112 (Zürich). St. Gall 75, the typically Alcuinian book according to Köhler, measures 537 × 393 with a column of 382 × 117; these outer dimensions may well have been matched by the Bamberg and the Zürich books in their original condition.¹⁹

These are big books, as anybody who has handled them can testify. The Bibles of Theodulf are in comparison neat and small. If Alcuin's chief pride in his edition — I really think it was not his only pride outside the achievement of an improved text — was the present to his emperor of all sacred Scripture in one volume,²⁰ then Theodulf certainly went him one better. Moreover, the reduction in size is effected by no illegitimate devices — I mean the use of symbols of abbreviation. The quest of a needle in a haystack is more profitable than that of an abbreviation, except of course the *nomina sacra*, in the Bibles of Theodulf. Moreover, there is plenty of space for an appropriate, though not a lavish, amount of exquisite illumination. I will not rashly try to describe its characteristics save to remark that while in general it is very different from the styles of Tours, some of the details in the canon tables are strikingly

¹⁹ This is another good instance to show the importance of measuring the script-space. One could not tell from the present size of these three books that they represent practically the same model; the column in St. Gall 75 is a bit taller, but the width conforms to that of the other two. I give Köhler's measuring of the St. Gall book rather than my own, since he has studied it more carefully. Measurements are bound to differ somewhat, especially in the case of script-spaces, where different pages may be taken by different measurers. Köhler gives only the outer dimensions. His measurements and mine are always within 10 mm. of each other with these few exceptions. I refer to his numbers with my own in parentheses. No. 38 (116). He is wrong with 345 (it is 380). No. 47 (115). I am wrong with 234 (misprint for 134). In our reports of the number of leaves I am wrong in No. 12 (57): 215, not 207 (215 in my notes). I am right in No. 6 (38): 95, not 93. No. 8 (26): 252, not 253. No. 14 (50): 159, not 199. No. 17 (73), in vol. II: 158, not 154. No. 23 (75): 176, not 175. No. 28 (79): 229, not 227. No. 29 (82): 162, not 161. No. 33 (96): 183, not 182. No. 45 (74): 211, not 212. No. 47 (115): 205+4, not 202. No. 54 (132): 153, not 149. No. 56 (108): 139+1, not 139. No. 57 (120) has 140. For the leaves and dimensions of No. 59, see my No. 135. In No. 10 (29), 4 should be added to his 395 (not 396 as printed in my book). In No. 16 (63) he is wrong with 416 and I with 414. To 416, 5 should be added, 421 in all. The lines on a page in No. 23 (75) number 26 (25), not 23.

²⁰ Köhler, pp. 83–88. He admits that Alcuin was not the inventor of a one-volume Bible. See also Dom de Bruyne's remarks on 'Bibles en un volume' in his comments accompanying our reviews (G. G. A., p. 352).

similar to what appears in certain of the Bibles of Tours of which the Bible of Zürich is one. There is in general an air of leisurely ease about the Bible of Theodulf, as though he had said at the end, 'There, it wasn't so hard to do after all.' Although the presence of a fairly large number of scribes is obvious in both volumes, it must have taken some time to write either one, and some time to train so many scribes to master the tiny (and the tiniest) hands, modelled on the Regular Style of Tours. The date of the latter, therefore, is pushed back considerably before the terminus ante quem of the Bibles, A.D. 818. It becomes more and more natural to suppose that it had been cultivated by Alcuin and employed in his edition of Holy Writ. If the art of Alcuin's presentation copy was no better than the Bible of St. Gall, his rival certainly trampled him under his feet.

But I am inclined to believe that Alcuin had done something better. I need not repeat here what I have said on Alcuin's interest in art,²¹ or of the evidence, ably presented by Köhler in both his article^{21a} and his book, for the existence of the style that I have called Embellished Merovingian in Alcuin's time. I have recently attempted^{21b} to arrange the monuments of this style in an approximately chronological order. Köhler's arguments on this point are to me less convincing because based on very scanty data. When, after a penetrating analysis, he puts four books — St. Gall 75, B. N. lat. 260, Harley 2790, and the Bible of Monza — in a chronological order which he pronounces "*endlich gewiss*,"²² and then uses this order as a basis for assigning to their places the other manuscripts of this group, I regard his very exactness as questionable. So far as the art of illumination is concerned, I would regard the books of Monza and St. Gall as inferior specimens of the Embellished Merovingian Style and look for the complete wealth of their style to the Leyden Nonius and the St. Jerome of Ghent, in which the subject-matter aroused the inventiveness of two great artists to develop the adornment of initials that did not appear in the Bibles.²³

²¹ Survey, pp. 38-45.

^{21a} 'Turonische Handschriften aus der Zeit Alcuins,' in the Festgabe für H. Degering, 1926.

^{21b} Speculum, VI (1931), 598 f.

²² P. 61.

²³ A special study of the art of these two books would be welcome, with reproductions of all the initials that they contain. Both artists are masters of realism and both have a

Taking all the books of this group into account we note various fonts of initials. Some are plain, some are decorated. The decoration may be simple, consisting in mere forkings at the ends of shafts, or more elaborate. In the latter case, there are again two kinds of decoration: the plainer sort consists of vegetable patterns with interlacings and other simple designs; in the more elaborate sort forms of beasts also appear. Finally there are the big beasts that with the other decorative forms make up the largest and most elaborate initials of these books. It is well to note the subtle devices, like the "*Inversionsstil*,"²⁴ for the discovery of which Köhler deserves our thanks, but it is hazardous to use these, or the more obvious decorative elements, as he does, as material for a chronological arrangement. His method is wellnigh involved in a *reductio ad absurdum*, when, for instance, we are told²⁵ that B. N. lat. 260 and St. Gall 268 are near in point of time to the *fons et origo* of the movement (St. Gall 75) because they contain no beasts, whereas B. N. lat. 17227 must follow the last-named books and pave the way to the Bible of Monza because it contains *one* beast.²⁶ B. N. lat. 1451 (see R, plate LVI.1) is now out of the count, but the Troyes manuscript of Alcuin (cf. R, LIV.2) has two initials with animals (R, LIV.2, 3) and that stands in Köhler's final list four places nearer the top than the Bible of Monza. The number of the initials and their character depend on the nature of the text and the elaborateness of the book. The artist of one of the simple books might be perfectly familiar with all the devices of the style and yet employ only those which the task at hand demanded.

As already indicated, the list of Alcuinian books given by Köhler, short as it is, may contain some alien members. I fail to see that the case for St. Gall 268, Alcuin's *Grammatica*, is any sense of humor differently displayed. In the Ghent manuscript the beasts are less pugnacious.

²⁴ P. 49. This involves a sudden change of pattern into background and vice versa. If, as Köhler maintains, it is a very early trait in the school, vanishing later, it should be noted that it appears in B. N. lat. 1451.

²⁵ P. 66.

²⁶ Is it not dangerous (p. 65) to call the use of animals in the initials of the Bible of Monza "eine vollkommene Neuerung"?

more certain than that of B. N. lat. 1451, which once was the pivot of the group, but now not even a member. Its place is now taken by the Bible of St. Gall, the true Alcuinian germ whence the art of illumination at Tours took its start. But external proof that this is a book of Tours is lacking. Berger²⁷ believed it a copy of the earlier form of the Alcuinian text, made, however, about the middle of the century for St. Gall at some monastery associated with it. It was corrected, at any rate, by Hartmut (872-883) from a manuscript of the character of Theodulf's revision. Whether Hartmut would have thus improved a volume sent to his monastery by Alcuin himself is a question. Though I am not prepared on the basis of the slender evidence now at my disposal to say that the pages reproduced in Köhler's facsimiles could not have been written at Tours, I find it at least as natural to assume with Berger that though the original came from Tours, the copy was made at a monastery associated with St. Gall. Indeed, on comparing the facsimiles of St. Gall 165 in Chroust's *Monumenta Palaeographica*,²⁸ I see no reason why the Bible might not have been written at St. Gall itself. Like Codex 165, done between 841 and 872, it may well represent one of the St. Gall styles in which the influence of Tours — in this case of the Embellished Merovingian manner — is apparent; the date of the Bible, I should infer, preceded that of the other manuscript, and in fact the copy might have been made before Alcuin's death or not long after it. It will be noted that Köhler did not find compelling proof of a genuinely Alcuinian book in the initials of St. Gall 75; his doubts were stifled by a consideration of the canon tables.²⁹ He admits the possibility that the date of the book may be after Alcuin's death.³⁰ One point to note is that the Bible does not contain Alcuin's dedicatory verses³¹ — not a good sign for a book supposedly typical of Alcuin's presentation copy to the emperor. There is no unity in this production of many scribes. They remind Köhler³² of a company of ants each busy about its little task with no thought of the entire performance. Surely, with an

²⁷ *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 129.

²⁹ Pp. 41 f.

³¹ P. 86.

²⁸ I, Lieferung XIV, Tafeln 6 and 7.

³⁰ P. 84.

³² P. 100.

artist like the young Adalbaldus at his disposal, Alcuin could have secured for the imperial Bible an elegance equal to that conspicuous in the Gospels written by that scribe.³³

Of course, if the Bible of St. Gall should go the way of B. N. lat. 1451, the careful method with which Köhler has traced the development of illumination in the Alcuinian period and that succeeding it must submit to revision. The book will still be useful, as B. N. lat. 1451, B. N. lat. 4404, and Cambrai 295 are, in supplying a specimen of the influence of one of the styles of Tours in other centres. The same will be true of the St. Gall copy of Alcuin's *Grammatica*.³⁴

The Alcuinian style as traced by Köhler in a development of some twenty years³⁵ was not, he finds, entirely an invention of the artists of Tours. Nothing like it had appeared in France in precarolingian times,³⁶ but it was itself built up on suggestions from both Insular and Continental illumination, with possibly the use also of some ancient source and with certain local touches.³⁷ One source both local and ancient to which Köhler does not appeal is the Ashburnham Pentateuch. He notices it merely to say that it could hardly have been done at Tours, owing to the splendid initial in the uncial supplement.³⁸ But with the scanty material at our disposal, who shall say what illumination at Tours in the eighth century could not have been? The book was clearly at Tours during Alcuin's time or just before it, as the minuscule supplement shows.³⁹ The character of the uncial is clearly pre-alcuinian. Wherever the Ashburnham Pentateuch was written, it was accessible at Tours from an early period and might well have been consulted by various artists in both the Embellished Merovingian and the Regular Style. This matter deserves investigation.⁴⁰

³³ B. N. lat. 17227.

³⁴ Cod. 268. Köhler admits that the evidence of its single initial does not suffice to put this book in the Alcuinian groups. The evidence of the script he does find sufficient. This I should doubt very much. It looks to me rather like a rude attempt made elsewhere to imitate the Regular Style of Tours.

³⁵ P. 47.

³⁶ P. 75.

³⁷ Pp. 72-90.

³⁸ P. 89, n. Cf. R, pl. III, 1.

³⁹ See Survey, p. 83, pl. III, 2.

⁴⁰ For example there appears in the capitula-table on fol. 116^v an elaborate vine with tendrils and a beast-shaped leaf — quite as elaborate a design as that, for example,

2. *Fridugisus*

Under the abbacy of Fridugisus Köhler chronicles the advent of a new style. It is that which one ordinarily associates with Tours. After the first rude attempts, in which there are reminiscences of Alcuinian ornamentation, the latter disappears at a stroke⁴¹ "*wie mit einem Schlage*," and under the influence of models not known in Alcuin's day this new style makes steady advance to the perfection of the Mid-century.

The books assigned by Köhler to this period are treated in five groups: (1) B. N. lat. 11514, 68, and London, Harley 2805; (2) Basel, A. N. I. 3; (3) the Bibles of Zürich and Bern, and Laon 220; (4) Stuttgart, II. 40 and London, Add. 11848; (5) B. N. lat. 250, the Morgan Gospels, the Quedlinburg Martinellus, and others (above, Nos. 24-26). Again the lineage of these books is traced with scrupulous exactness, though within the groupings chronological precision is at times abandoned. He can even refer to the Bible of Zürich, Stuttgart II. 40, and B. N. lat. 250 as "*ungefähr einer Zeit angehörend*."⁴² After some hesitation, he puts the Bible of Bern after that of Zürich, although the ornamentation of the latter is in some respects more elaborate.⁴³ Correspondingly, the art of Stuttgart II. 40 is less sumptuous than that of the Bible of Zürich,⁴⁴ and yet it is obviously a later book. I have spoken above of the remarkable agreement in our estimate of the books of this period.⁴⁵ One

in St. Gall 75 (K, 1 a). One of the initials (C) in Ghent 102 (K, 11b.) suggests the ancient fish-form of Merovingian times found in the Tours Eugypsius, B. N. nouv. acq. lat. 1575 (in the letter *g*, fol. 11^r) and in B. N. lat. 1572, fol. 14^r (R, XI, 1).

⁴¹ P. 96.⁴² P. 161.⁴³ P. 127.⁴⁴ P. 150.

⁴⁵ A manuscript discussed by Köhler but not put on his list, because not illuminated, is Paris, Ste. Geneviève 1260 (No. 32). I had put it in the group IVa and identified the hand with L in the Morgan Gospels, not intending thereby to assert that it was written under Alcuin. Köhler (p. 95) makes it probable — though not certain — that, owing to the inclusion in this lectionary of a portion for the festival of All Saints with a vigil, the book was written about 830, "*sicherlich nicht erheblich früher*." I have no objection to this dating, though I see no certain reason why it might not be c. 820, the period to which I would assign Harley 2790, 2793, Chartres 3, and perhaps others. I will add that I am now uncertain whether the scribe of this book is the same as L in the Morgan Gospels. In any event Köhler's observation that its script is to be put palaeographically "*in die unmittelbare Nähe*" of the Bibles of Zürich and Bern is wide of the mark. Its approximate dating should not be used in any way to determine theirs.

obvious difference is that I would tend to pull the lower end of this string of beads nearer to the time of Alcuin, if not actually into it, and to distribute the beads more evenly over the entire length. Köhler's tendency is to let them accumulate at the other end of the string.

One clue to the dating of the manuscripts of this group Köhler finds in No. 23, Laon 220. This codex contains Amalarius, *De Officiis et de Ordine Ecclesiastico*. This is the first edition of the work, which appeared between 820 and 823. Its palaeographical traits suggested to me a date not much later, say 825. With this estimate Köhler is in accord, but he proceeds to put the Bibles of Zürich and Bern after it, apparently on account of the simple ornamentation of the book. The development, therefore, of the new style that they and the still later manuscripts of this group represent proceeded with a rush.⁴⁶ But to my mind the palaeographical traits of the Bible of Zürich absolutely prevent so late a date. I should treat this case as he treats the Bible of Bern, in which he finds the ornamentation less elaborate than that of the Bible of Zürich and yet assigns it a later date. There is an apparent discrepancy between this estimate and the place of Laon 220 on his final list, where it is No. 23, coming immediately after the Quedlinburg Martinellus and seven numbers after the Bible of Zürich. I had assigned both books, along with the Grandval Bible, to the years 820-830 and would leave them there. At all events, Laon 220 offers no evidence for Köhler's dating of the Zürich Bible or for the feverish development of the style it represents in the last years of Fridugisus's régime. The way is open for stringing some of the beads more evenly on the thread.

One might readily point out, I believe, a number of details which Köhler regards as signs of lateness and as "first appearances" but which may be found in earlier books. Thus he notes a great advance in the elegance of the script in B. N. lat. 68 and the Bibles of Zürich and Bern over those of St. Gall and Monza.⁴⁷ Granted: but none of these manuscripts has in its entirety the elegance of the Gospels of Adalbaldus (B. N. lat. 17227), admittedly an Alcuinian book. In fact a still later re-

⁴⁶ Pp. 94 f., 145.

⁴⁷ P. 101.

finement, the use of uncials in the Prologue of St. Matthew, which Köhler notes for the first time in Stuttgart, II. 40 and London, Add. 11848,⁴⁸ is also found in the Gospels of Adalbaldu.⁴⁹

Similarly in the illumination, the new principles that involve the expulsion of beasts and vegetables and the restriction to linear decorative forms is not only suggested in books of Alcuin's time, but so clearly illustrated that it is hazardous to mark its first appearance in B. N. lat. 11514.⁵⁰ An initial *D* in Montpellier 412⁵¹ is altogether of the sort that, according to Köhler, was not introduced till the time of Fridugisus. There is no doubt of the approximate date of this codex, since the script is very near to one of the hands in the Vatican Livy;⁵² it was done either just before Alcuin's coming or during his régime or very shortly after it, and reflects, in any case, one of the decorative styles in vogue in Alcuin's time. We note in that initial *D* the principle of *Gliederung*,⁵³ or the division of the stems of letters into parts, or members. The designs in the different fields comprise a vine, a zig-zag with three dots in the triangles formed by the zig-zag and the contour — the very design used in one of the canon tables of B. N. lat. 250,⁵⁴ and suggesting the similar use of the maeander pattern in the initial *L* of Basel, A. N. I. 3,⁵⁵ and finally an interlacing of the *Aderband* sort,⁵⁶ in which the vein is more slender than usual. The general type of the initial, if I may venture to classify it, is the 'frame type,'⁵⁷ in which the surrounding border has acquired a certain independence. Since the *Aderband* is the successor of the 'intermittierend,' or broken, interlaces,⁵⁸ and since the variety here represented seems rather on its last legs, one might be tempted to date the book a trifle later than Köhler's dating for the Bibles of Zürich and Bern. The script, of which the initial is an integral part, forbids. It were rash to assert, there-

⁴⁸ P. 168.

⁴⁹ Fol. 5^r. Of this I have a photograph.

⁵⁰ Pp. 112-120.

⁵¹ R, XX, 2.

⁵² Survey, p. 94.

⁵³ P. 115.

⁵⁴ K, 29b.

⁵⁵ K, 14a.

⁵⁶ In this design a central vein of a band is bounded by fine contour-lines. See pp. 127, 130 f.

⁵⁷ 'Rahmentypus,' see p. 122.

⁵⁸ P. 131.

fore, that the general style of decoration represented by the Bibles of Zürich and Bern did not flourish in Alcuin's time. The Bibles assigned by Köhler to the period of Fridugisus may give us broken lights of a past splendor rather than the dawns of an elegance not known before. Certainly there is such a splendor in the great monuments of the Palace School.⁵⁹

I would now propose not only for the period under discussion but for the whole history of the script of Tours another sort of quest not plainly recognized in Köhler's treatment. His eyes are fixed on the future; he follows a development with attention to the innovations introduced from point to point. I think that from time to time we may look backwards, in an endeavor to reconstruct in some few of its details the source from which certain monuments of the art of Tours are derived. For it is plain that if some of them are compared with one another, the resemblances are such that the connection between them is not that between original and copy but between independent derivatives of a common source. In this regard, an examination of the canon tables is illuminating. The manuscripts involved are, in Köhler's order, the Bibles of Basel (Bas. A), Zürich (Zür.), Bern, Stuttgart (Stutt.), the Gospels of Compiègne (Add. 11848), the Paris New Testament (B. N. 250), and the Morgan Gospels (Mor.).

In all the books just mentioned canon tables are found of similar design, and yet no one of them, so far as I can discover, is derived directly from any of the others. It would doubtless be profitable to compare the recurring designs — vines, zig-zags, maeanders, and the rest, in the endeavor to reconstruct the general appearance of each canon table in the original followed by these different copies. We must of course reckon in every instance with the individual genius of the artist, and yet no one of them, it would appear, strays far from traditional designs. Another difficulty is presented by the fact that different manuscripts in different ways combine one or more tables in one figure. Thus B. N. 250 combines I and II; Bern, II and III;

⁵⁹ One may find plenty of examples of the Intermittent type there. Cf., for example, the Dagulf Psalter (Mon. Pal. Vind. I, Taf. 22, 23). Something that, at any rate in facsimile, looks like an Aderband may be found in the Ada-handschrift (Taf. 9).

Zür., II, III, IV, and so on. The combinations are such that one may infer that the original had more tables than appear in the copies.⁶⁰

Easier to compare than the decorative designs are the bird-figures that are set at right and left ends of the arch that surmounts the outer columns. When we note in the first figure that the birds are ducks or other small birds in four of the seven manuscripts (Bern, Add. 11848, Bas. A, Zür.), it is a safe guess that this is the kind of bird that appeared in the original. Similarly when canon X is flanked with peacocks, or a pea-cock and a pea-hen, in three of the seven (Bas. A, Bern, Add. 11848), it is probable that peacocks concluded the series in the original.⁶¹ This series, if I may venture a guess without going into details, began with ducks or other small birds, which were followed by crows in various postures, flamingoes, cocks in either peaceful or pugnacious attitudes, hens, and finally the peacocks, Lord and Lady.

One detail may be selected to illustrate the profitableness of further investigation of this matter. As Köhler points out,⁶² the art displayed in the canon table of Bern is nearer to Bas. A than to Zür., though Zür. is chronologically nearer (by Köhler's estimate) to Bern than Bas. A is. In the second table in Bern⁶³ (combining II, part, III, IV, V, part) two crows stand outside the two ends of the arch, each facing inward, with wings stretched backwards. In Bas. A, where II, III, and IV are combined, the crows, facing inward as before, keep the outer wing at the side and point the other towards the arch — it is an unusual posture.⁶⁴ Is this an evidence of originality on the part of the artist of Bas. A? No, because the same attitude is taken by the crows in B. N. 250.⁶⁵ The latter manuscript is not copied from Bas. A; it is derived independently from the same source.

⁶⁰ For the contents of the thirteen tables, see Wordsworth and White, I, 7-10. Even in sumptuous manuscripts some of them are combined, though some of the longer ones may be divided into parts. Both of these features appear in the Gospels of Lothair (B. N. 266), which has twelve tables in all.

⁶¹ I should state that not all facts about the canon tables are accessible to me from Köhler's plates or my own photographs and notes.

⁶² P. 144.

⁶³ K, 19b.

⁶⁴ K, 14c.

⁶⁵ K, 29f.

Finally we may notice certain space-saving devices for representing a numeral. One is to use small strokes after a large figure, as in V¹¹.⁶⁶ In case the figure consists entirely of strokes, either the last stroke is made long, as ||| , ||| ,⁶⁷ or both the first and the last are long, as ||| .⁶⁸ There is also the rather surprising practice of superimposing one stroke upon another, as I for II, || for III, || for IV, V for VIII etc. Instances appear first in Bern⁶⁹ and Stutt.,⁷⁰ and then in later books.⁷¹ Since these books are not in direct lineage, I infer that the curious usage was found in some book or books, older than any of these. In general we may note that the Ashburnham Pentateuch has capitula tables containing decorative designs of a simple sort and flanked with various birds. It may have given at least a few suggestions to the artist of the original book on which the manuscripts here discussed were modelled.⁷²

I have spoken of the Basel Bible in the foregoing discussion as though it were one of the genuine books of Tours. I had included it doubtfully among the books of Period V.⁷³ A closer examination in the summer of 1929 convinced me of two things, first that it was written earlier than that period and secondly that it was done elsewhere than at Tours. The influence of Tours is apparent in the script, and the ornamentation is very carefully patterned on the style above discussed. In the initials, Köhler finds that the presence of Alcuinian designs and the intermittent interlaces associate this book with B. N. lat.

⁶⁶ Bern (K, 19c). Cf. Stutt. (K, 23d). Basel B. II (Bas. B); see K, 54h.

⁶⁷ Bas. A (K, 14c).

⁶⁸ Zür. (K, 17b). Cf. Stutt. (K, 23c), Rorigo Bible (B. N. 3; K, 34a). Leningrad Gospels (Len.; K, 59e).

⁶⁹ K, 19a, b.

⁷⁰ K, 23c.

⁷¹ Gospels of St. Gozlin (Nancy; K, 39b, c, e), Gospels of Prüm (Prüm; K, 97a), Gospels of Lothair (B. N. 266; K, 102a, b.)

⁷² Köhler (p. 138) sees something antique behind the new treasury of forms exhibited by the Bern Bible and the others of this group. I quite agree. The question is at what time this antique source, whatever the form in which it came to Tours, was accessible to the artists and scribes of Tours. The book contained pictures as well as ornamental canon tables. Those in Stutt. and Add. 11848, which are the first of the books of Tours, says Köhler (p. 146), to contain pictures, are obviously from the same source. We await Köhler's second volume for a discussion of their relation to each other.

⁷³ Survey, p. 146.

11514.⁷⁴ This latter Bible, he had stated before,⁷⁵ may perhaps be placed on the borderline between the periods of Alcuin and Fridugisus. The new type of initial, the '*Rahmentypus*,'⁷⁶ and the new art of the canon tables with a new use of color to produce the effect of modelling are evidence for Köhler of the later date of the book.⁷⁷ If I am right in assigning it to another monastery and in feeling in the script an earlier character, then the book of St. Martin's that it copied might well have been done under Alcuin. The side-light thrown by the Bible of Basel on the script and the art of Tours is thus as important as that supplied by B. N. lat. 1451. I also believe that similar evidence may be drawn from the plentiful initials of Angers 1-2, in case we must decide that this book was written not at Tours but at Angers.⁷⁸

As one turns the pages of this Bible of Angers (1-2), one may well suspect an imitation rather than the genuine art of Tours,⁷⁹ especially since a number of the books of St. Aubin are clearly of this variety, which reflects various stages in the development of the script and illumination of Tours as well as of the Franco-Saxon variety throughout the ninth century.⁸⁰ Two facts, however, attach the Bible of Angers (1-2) to the School of Tours. One is the presence among its scribes of the hand that supplements the Morgan Gospels and is also found in London, Harley 2805.⁸¹ The other is that the Angers Bible is connected in the contents of some of the gatherings with Harley 2805, and also

⁷⁴ Pp. 121, 123.

⁷⁵ P. 110.

⁷⁶ P. 122, Taf. 14a. I have already pointed out the similarity between this initial and the *D* in Montpellier 412; see above, p. 346.

⁷⁷ Pp. 123 f.

⁷⁸ Köhler, in his only reference to this manuscript (p. 315, n. 1), refers to the order of the books at the end (Apocalypse, Epistles of Paul), in which it agrees with St. Gall 75, as that of a "frühturonische Vorlage." The copy also reproduces the "Schrift- und Initialschmuck" of this original. If that is so, Köhler's description of what could be done under Alcuin must be enlarged. Note, for instance, the principle of 'Gliederung' and the intermittent interlaces in the initial *P* on fol. 27^v (R, LXXXVI).

⁷⁹ Besides Köhler, Dom Wilmart came to this opinion, as he states in a letter of March 1926.

⁸⁰ Cf. especially Angers 3-4, 5-6, 18, specified by Dom Wilmart, and to them may be added 19, 21, 22, 23. The School of St. Aubin deserves special study, particularly in relation to that of Tours.

⁸¹ See above, p. 328, on No. 13.

with B. N. lat. 68 and 11514.⁸² Apparently some manuscript of Alcuin's text of the Bible served as a model for various copies, each made by a number of scribes.⁸³ Its gatherings were not bound, but kept separate so that several writers could work on them at the same time, making the contents of the original fit exactly the amount of parchment received. If a scribe received two or more gatherings at a time, the contents of all but the last need not exactly match those of the original, provided the last page of the copy came out even with it. In this way the different copies would correspond at some, but not at all, points. Now the books thus associated with Angers 1-2 are clearly the product of Tours. It might be that their original was lent to St. Aubin to be copied there — but then there is the presence of the Morgan hand to account for.

The case of the Morgan Gospels is settled in the following manner by Köhler.⁸⁴ He thinks that the nine gatherings at the beginning, including St. Matthew and the prefatory matter, were done either under Alcuin or not long after his death. They were then completed in the latter part of Fridugisus's régime, at which time the canon tables were added. Had Köhler seen the book itself, I am sure that he would agree that the above explanation puts the cart before the horse. As I showed in my article in the "Miscellanea Ehrle," the core of the book is the torso containing the text from St. Mark on. This veritably is the true script of St. Martin's, done either under Alcuin or not much later than his death. The part before it is the later supplement, and the artist who used purple bands for headings and gold marginal initials there, made over the headings and the simple red initials in the latter part of the book.⁸⁵ The canon tables are also his, unless something drives us to the assumption of a still later addition in their case. I had proposed the hy-

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ There are at least a dozen in each of the Bibles above mentioned.

⁸⁴ P. 161. He states that his acquaintance with this manuscript is limited to the photographs furnished by the Pierpont Morgan Library, and he refers (p. 379) to my article in the *Miscellanea Ehrle*, IV, 1924, 89-104.

⁸⁵ If Part A was done under Alcuin, then gold initials were used at that time. It is just as sure that they are part of the original execution there as it is that they replace red initials in Part B.

pothesis in the article for Cardinal Ehrle that the supplement was made at some monastery under Franco-Saxon influence, but the discovery of Hand L in Harley 2805 toppled over that theory quickly.

What is the period of this scribe's activity? The character of the minuscule is surely that of the Embellished Merovingian sort, though the supplement was not necessarily for that reason added in Alcuin's time. Harley 2805 is an early book; it might even, says Köhler, have been done under Alcuin.⁸⁶ Angers 1-2 I placed about 820.⁸⁷ Roughly, then, this scribe was at work from about 800 to about 820, and sometime before the supplement was added, the rest of the manuscript was written. The art of the canon tables is in general accord with that of the manuscripts discussed above, having special affinities with that of B. N. lat. 250.⁸⁸ Both would derive, for the reasons set forth above, from the common ancestor of these various books.⁸⁹

When was the supplement made? I ventured to suggest that the books just treated may have been written at Marmoutier.⁹⁰ One objection to this theory is that one of the scribes of B. N. 68 may be Amalricus, the writer of the Bible of Monza, assuredly one of the members of St. Martin's.⁹¹ Still, I am not quite sure of the identity of the two hands, and Amalricus is a not uncommon name.⁹² A monk of Marmoutier may have borne it, as well as the member of St. Martin's who became *magister scholae* and finally Archbishop of Tours.

If, then, we hypothetically banish the volumes in question from St. Martin's, and with them the Bible of Monza, it becomes easier than ever to see in them not gradual approaches to

⁸⁶ P. 120, n. 1.

⁸⁷ Survey, p. 131.

⁸⁸ P. 161.

⁸⁹ Another descendant of this original is Troyes 29, which because of its meagre illumination is not treated by Köhler. It shows connection with B. N. lat. 68 in the quire-contents. Its script seems to belong in Period V (No. 93). It is a good example of a later book that, after elaborate ornamentation had come in, could still be ornamented in a very simple style.

⁹⁰ See Nos. 35, 49, 50, 57, 70 in Survey.

⁹¹ See on Nos. 29 and 50.

⁹² The index of *Libri Confraternitatum Sancti Galli* (Mon. German. Hist., 1884, p. 410) contains over forty occurrences of this name in its different forms. There are two called Amalricus in the list of the monks of Tours.

a final perfection, but rather imperfect reproductions of a distinguished style already achieved, though destined to still further improvement. Into the gap they created, some of the books assigned by Köhler to the end of the régime of Fridugisus or the beginning of that of Adalhardus would automatically descend. I am thinking in particular of the Bibles of Zürich and Bamberg.⁹³

In a word, I see enough evidence for a counter-hypothesis to that favored by Köhler. He would arrange the monuments in a line of descent. Not denying the progress of the art, I would also argue back from both the script and the illumination of these books to models with at least the varied display of adornment that they possess. Two styles flourished at St. Martin's in both illumination and script under Alcuin's guidance. The same two may well have been cultivated, with less perfection probably, at Marmoutier. Both styles could be set forth with elegance both in Alcuin's day and later. Not all the extant specimens of either the earlier or the later period give a complete idea of what Alcuin's Bible was like. A fascinating and venturesome task remains, namely to reconstruct its general features from the monuments transmitted to our day.⁹⁴

3. *Adalhardus*

Köhler has mapped out a transitional period in the history of the art of the books, as I have for that of the script. The difference is one of time. I find the marks of transition in the years c. 820-835, and he in the years 834-843, the primacy of Adalhardus.

On the Bible of Rorigo (B. N. lat. 3) we differ little if at all. External clues help to substantiate the date that he sets, c. 835.

⁹³ The Basel Bible, we may note, does not in its fragmentary condition offer a chance for comparison with the Bibles here discussed, with the single exception of B. N. lat. 11514. What common ground is there covered shows no coincidences in quire-contents. This lack of data is no disproof of the assumption, if we care to make it, that this book too was written at Marmoutier.

⁹⁴ Köhler (p. 87) admits the possibility that alongside the ornamentation that he calls Alcuinian another style, "reichere, prächtigere," may have been in vogue, but declares that there are no proofs of its existence. I hope that the facts which I have already presented and those to which I am coming will at least make clear that the question deserves further investigation.

He puts it after B. N. lat. 250, and so do I. He finds in it an execution inferior to that of B. N. lat. 250⁹⁵ and certain reverberations to a more ancient style⁹⁶ — a principle that I am ever ready to accept. One minor, but important, detail is the illumination of the initial *N* in *Novum opus*, the beginning of St. Jerome's letter to Damasus instead of the *B* in *Beato Papae* of the salutation.⁹⁷ I note in passing that *N*, not *B*, is thus singled out for distinction in Harley 2790,⁹⁸ to which I was inclined, and am now still more inclined, to assign a late date (though not so late as the date of the Bible of Rorigo) among the books of the Embellished Merovingian Style.

Likewise on the Gospels of St. Gozlin at Nancy our judgments are not greatly diverse. Both of us would put it before the Bible of Rorigo.⁹⁹ The canon tables are near to the Fridugisus group.¹⁰⁰ It is a mate for the Bible of Rorigo in the elaborate use of gold and silver,¹⁰¹ and the art is in general most pleasing, as in the exquisite vine, with leaves and clusters alternating,¹⁰² though this is not more exquisite than the vine surrounding the epitaph of Pope Hadrian sent to Rome in 795 — the designs of the two are somewhat similar.¹⁰³ *N* is illuminated instead of *B* in St. Jerome's letter; this book has anticipated the Bible of Rorigo in this device.¹⁰⁴ Novelties there are. Leaves break out from the middle or the ends of shafts, as though Aaron's rod were blossoming again.¹⁰⁵ I likened the script to that of Adalboldus, forgetting that Berger had noted this resemblance.¹⁰⁶

A turning-point in the art of Tours is marked by the Grand-

⁹⁵ P. 173.

⁹⁶ P. 168.

⁹⁷ P. 168.

⁹⁸ On fol. 2^r (not reproduced by either K or R), *BEATO* is the first word of the third line of the heading, which is in faded red majuscules of the mixed sort appropriate for the Embellished Merovingian Style. The *B* is larger than the other majuscules in the line, as is the initial *P* of *PRAEFATIO* in the first. The *N* introducing the first line of the text is about twice as large as the *P* or the *B*. Like them it is a single letter in red, with the finials and forkings characteristic of the Embellished Merovingian Style.

⁹⁹ P. 183.

¹⁰⁰ Pp. 181, 186.

¹⁰¹ P. 182.

¹⁰² K, 37b.

¹⁰³ See above, p. 337.

¹⁰⁴ P. 185.

¹⁰⁵ E. g. K, 38c, e. Compare also the *T* (K, 37c; R, XCIX) with the simpler sort of the same design in Bern 165 (K, 31g; R, LXXVI).

¹⁰⁶ *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 249: "mais s'ils [les Évangiles de saint Gauzelin] n'ont pas été écrits de sa main, ils sont certainement l'œuvre d'un de ses meilleurs disciples."

val Bible. The ornamentation in the latter is separated from that in the Rorigo Bible "*wie durch eine Kluft*." ¹⁰⁷ The initials continue the progress made by B. N. lat. 274 and the Wolfenbüttel Gospels in introducing 'movement' into the traditional designs, and offer a basis for a still more skilful adaptation of the precious metals to letter-forms. ¹⁰⁸ The presence of a great artist is apparent, and the supremacy of the School of Tours in the development of European painting is, for a while, assured. ¹⁰⁹ At the same time, the canon tables and the concordance tables are not so satisfactory. They reflect the early years of Adalhardus's primacy. ¹¹⁰ The evidence of the text also indicates this earlier period. ¹¹¹

The problem thus raised is solved in part by the fact that the text of the book, along with the canon tables and concordance tables is earlier than the initials, which replace the original set. On this point Köhler accepts my statement, as he has had no chance to reëxamine the book since 1911. It is to be hoped that he himself may give all parts of the illumination the scrutiny for which he calls. ¹¹² I am sure that so far as the initials are concerned, the history of the ornamentation is as follows. The original volume had been furnished with red or red-and-black headings with simple initials in red and with spaces left for more elaborate initials to be added by the illuminator; what sort he intended we can only guess. The artist, the very great artist, who made over the book either introduced his own inventions when he found space left, or erased the red initials already there, or added various embellishments to these initials, or left them as they were. I cannot go into details at this point; I may refer the reader to a few cases in Köhler's plate in which the letter is not well adjusted to the space left for it. ¹¹³ Of special importance is the illumination of the *B* and not the *N* in St. Jerome's letter to Pope Damasus on fol. 349 (not in K or R). The scribe had left space for a *B* in accordance with the earlier practice. If the illuminator had had a chance to follow the custom of his

¹⁰⁷ P. 206.

¹⁰⁸ Pp. 202, 207f.

¹⁰⁹ P. 208.

¹¹⁰ Pp. 195, 197.

¹¹¹ P. 195. See below, p. 390, n. 285.

¹¹² Pp. 194, 198, n. 1.

¹¹³ K, 45e, 46e, and 44c, where the later illuminator made a ligature of L and I, not noticing that the I had already been included in the rest of the word (L)IBER.

day, he would doubtless have selected *N* not *B* for ornamentation.¹¹⁴ In short, the palaeography of this important book would indicate that it was written, as I maintained,¹¹⁵ in the latter part of the primacy of Fridugisus, and that later, under Adalhardus, or possibly even as late as Vivian's time, the ornamentation was supplemented or improved by one of the greatest artists in the history of the School of Tours.

4. *The Bible of Bamberg*

We are now ready for the Bamberg Bible and the group to which it belongs, assigned by Köhler to the period of Adalhardus. He passes an adverse judgment on the character of the script, which is the work of various hands. It begins in a regular fashion, but quickly becomes careless and falls into practices characteristic of the time of Fridugisus. Ligatures, open *a*, and abbreviations are found in little nests, then disappear, then occur for considerable stretches, without coinciding with a change of hands. Such quality signifies inferior workmanship rather than an early date. There is something provincial about it. It does not look like the product of a great scriptorium.¹¹⁶

This is a partly true, partly belittling, account of the script of the Bamberg Book. I do not pretend to have made an exhaustive study of the hands, but I distinguished at least four, all in the Regular Style except Hand B; one of them (Hand A) is of marked elegance. It is perfectly easy to tell where one hand ends and another begins. One hand only, so far as my observation went, employs the old cursive traits systematically, Hand B. This hand, of a graceful character, likewise corrects the book, sometimes erasing passages to include in rewriting them lines omitted by the scribe. There are also various substitute hands that write shorter stretches than usual. Their work and the corrections of Hand B are apparently the 'nests' to which Köhler refers.

Now there is nothing peculiar or provincial about such a performance. If the reader will glance at the specimens exhibited

¹¹⁴ See above, p. 354.

¹¹⁵ Survey, p. 136.

¹¹⁶ P. 211.

in our plates¹¹⁷ or those of Chroust,¹¹⁸ he will find enough evidence for corroboration of the view heretofore current that the Bamberg Bible is one of the great and typical books of Tours. We must add that the reform achieved by Alcuin could not be put into execution at a stroke. The habits of some scribes, particularly the older brethren, could not be changed over night. The Embellished Merovingian Style was still practised, and indeed one and the same book could show the presence of both manners.¹¹⁹ Further, the earlier books that in general are of the Regular Style often contain not a few hands that still allow the old cursive traits.¹²⁰ In fact, the presence of these lingering pre-alcuinian habits is evidence for dating a book fairly near to Alcuin's time. They appear only sporadically in the books that I have included in Period V and are mere freaks in the books of the Mid-century, often deriving, when they occur, from the earlier original copied by the scribe. Here, then, are three periods in the history of the Regular Style of Tours, so far as cursive traits are concerned:

- (1) Cursive traits still systematically used by certain hands.
- (2) Cursive traits only occasionally used.
- (3) Cursive traits very rarely used.

Clearly the Bamberg Bible, judged by its script alone, belongs in the first of these classes. It is next to impossible to imagine it as a coëval of the Bible of Grandval, the Bible of Rorigo, the Gospels of St. Gozlin, or those of Leningrad. The execution is better than that of B. N. lat. 68 and the others of that group. It is earlier than the Bible of Bern, which has few cursive traits and shows the New Style ruling. Its nearest relative is the Bible of Zürich.¹²¹

The kinship between the Bibles of Bamberg and Zürich is made clear by Köhler in his discussion of the prefatory matter that they contain. First we find the immortal letter of St. Jerome to Paulinus (beginning with the words *Frater Am-*

¹¹⁷ K, 58; R, LIX.

¹¹⁸ Mon. Pal., Series I, xviii, Taf. 2-5.

¹¹⁹ Survey, p. 47.

¹²⁰ Ibid. p. 49.

¹²¹ Köhler (p. 209) speaks of the doubts raised "von Paläographen" against a dating of Bamb. in Alcuin's time. This is too sweeping a statement. Some palaeographers would not date it so early, and some would. See above, p. 336, n. 8.

brosius)¹²² on the study of the Scriptures. Then comes Alcuin's poem on the books of the Bible and his edition of them, with the request for a prayer in his behalf. Finally, at the beginning of the first regular quaternion, we have St. Jerome's letter to Pope Damasus.

In the Bamberg Bible, the lines on Alcuin as the director of the copying of the text are accompanied by a gold medallion containing a face adorned with a halo and designated as *ALCVINVS ABBA*. I argued that the appearance of such a sanctified likeness of the modest levite of St. Martin's bespoke a date not contemporary with Alcuin and not too remote from his lifetime.¹²³ In view of Köhler's remarks on a similar glorification of the Abbot Raganaldus in the Sacramentary of Autun, which was written during his lifetime,¹²⁴ I am prepared for the possibility that the illuminator slipped in such a medallion while Alcuin was alive (with many protests from Alcuin when he found it) — and I am also prepared to abide by my first opinion. I am not disposed to accept Köhler's demonstration that the poem of Alcuin originally headed the edition and that therefore the letter to Paulinus was added subsequently.¹²⁵ The poem, indeed, as a metrical table of contents, would make an admirable beginning of the work. But St. Jerome's letter, which treats of the study of the Bible in general and not of his own translation, also makes a good beginning. It would be characteristic of Alcuin's modesty to select that to go first and then to proclaim his own performance.

It is not, then, coincidence in an erroneous arrangement, or an arrangement proving the letter to Paulinus a later feature of the Alcuinian Bibles, that proves the derivation of the books of Zürich and of Bamberg from a common source. That is furnished, in the first place, by the coincidence in quire-contents. This coincidence is not so frequent as in the books discussed above,¹²⁶ but it is none the less significant. In both manuscripts the letter to Paulinus and Alcuin's poem occupy the first gathering, which in both cases is irregular. In Zür. a double leaf is combined with two leaves, in Bamb. with three. Both begin the

¹²² The letter is not addressed to this Ambrosius, as Köhler implies (p. 209).

¹²³ Survey, p. 118.

¹²⁴ P. 210.

¹²⁵ Pp. 209 f.

¹²⁶ Pp. 350 f.

second gathering with the letter to Damasus, and both end quire XII with Ruth, Zür. on fol. 92^v and Bamb. on fol. 94^v. The script-space is very nearly, if not quite, the same in both manuscripts,¹²⁷ and the number of lines on a page would average about the same.¹²⁸ The extra leaf in the first gathering¹²⁹ and that inserted for the picture in Genesis (fol. 7) account for the difference in the number of leaves used for the text through Ruth. The gatherings employed, quaternion in both cases, are the same in number. The coincidence shows that both manuscripts were derived from an original that used twelve quaternions for the text from St. Jerome's letter to Pope Damasus through Ruth, and that in both cases the parchment was planned to conform.¹³⁰ Alcuin's own copy may have been arranged in just this fashion. The basic text which he edited would have begun with a title and the letter to Damasus. For convenience in planning the assignments for copying, Alcuin would most naturally begin the first regular quaternion in the same way and add in an imperfect gathering his prefatory poem with the letter to Paulinus before it. That would make it easy for such a gathering to get lost, as may be the case in the various Bibles that do not contain Alcuin's poem or the letter to Paulinus.¹³¹

The kinship of Zür. and Bamb. indicated by the similar planning of their contents will become clearer still when the character of their texts is considered.¹³² Waiving that point for

¹²⁷ Bamb. 356 × 116 in a column; Zür. 362 × 112.

¹²⁸ Bamb. 50 and 51 (45, 46, 47, 48, 49); Zür. 50 (49).

¹²⁹ Zür. uses fol. 4^v for the poem, but Bamb. inserts a special leaf for it.

¹³⁰ In the subsequent parts of these Bibles, so far as I have examined, one may note the planning of the same matter, but with more of an attempt on the part of Zür. to fit an important ending in the text to the close of a quaternion. Thus we find Kings ending quire XVII on fol. 134^v, since foll. 129–130 were added in the middle of the gathering, making it a quinion, in order to end the book with the gathering. In Bamb. the text runs on into quire XVIII and ends on fol. 136^v. In the same way in Zür. Daniel ends quire XXV on fol. 198^v, while in Bamb. it runs on into quire XXVI. After the disposition of the matter has thus been altered in the two manuscripts, we should probably not expect to find further coincidence.

¹³¹ Such, for example, as the Bern Bible. This book has not quite the same script-space (382 × 130 in a column) but the number of lines is virtually the same, 51 (52). The planning of the matter is obviously not the same as in Zür. and Bamb. Ruth does not end quire XII but comes to a close in quire X, fol. 75^r, Kings beginning on fol. 75^v.

¹³² See below, pp. 389 f.

the moment, we may next consider the illumination of Bamb. in the light of Köhler's fresh analysis. He gives good reason for regarding some features of the art of the book as late — as late as the primacy of Adalhardus by his reckoning. In the use of frames, for instance, he can point to a progress from Zür. to Ror. to Grandv., and plausibly sets Bamb. with Grandv. at the end of this development.¹³³ At the same time, though the art of Bamb. is late and derived from late models, it is crude and unintelligent in its imitation. For instance, the treatment of the border that surrounds the titlepage, with its lettering of gold and silver on purple bands, is "*summarisch und willkürlich*"; the adaptation of the interlacing to the border is far less effectively done than in London, Add. 11848, a book of Fridugisus.¹³⁴ Similarly the frame about the picture on Genesis (fol. 7^v) suggests motives of Adalhard's time clumsily carried out. The initials are of various sorts, some simply done in brown or red, some drawn in red and treated in color, some decorated also with gold and silver. They both suggest such books as the Gospels of St. Gozlin and B. N. lat. 250¹³⁵ and yet show a certain retrogression called "*eine Vereinfachung und Verarmung*."¹³⁶ Similarly the canon tables recall the previous types, but are too schematic, with no inventiveness displayed.¹³⁷ In short, the illumination should be dated in the period of Adalhardus later than the Grandval Bible.¹³⁸ It is of an inferior character, not up to the standard of a great scriptorium.

I will leave to experts in the history of illumination the quality of that displayed in the Bamberg Bible. Rather I would raise the suspicion, prompted by some of Köhler's remarks about the "*Vereinfachung und Verarmung*" of its art, that there may be something ancient about it. For instance, one of Köhler's plates¹³⁹ displays the fact, though he does not mention it, that the letter illuminated at the beginning of St. Jerome's letter to Damasus on the Gospels is *B* and not *N*.¹⁴⁰ I also find speci-

¹³³ P. 211.¹³⁴ P. 212.¹³⁵ P. 215.¹³⁶ P. 222.¹³⁷ P. 224.¹³⁸ P. 226.¹³⁹ K, 58g.¹⁴⁰ See above, p. 354. I note incidentally that B not N is illuminated in Bern 4, fol. 83^r.

mens of what is at least close to the intermittent type of interlaces which is said not to occur in the book.¹⁴¹

So startling is the deviation in the Bamberg Bible and its group from the normal progress of illumination under Adalhardus that Köhler thinks momentarily of the development of two different styles simultaneously flourishing under two different *magistri scholae*.¹⁴² Such, however, is the "*Armut und Einförmigkeit*" of the Bamberg style that it could hardly have been cultivated at St. Martin's. Marmoutier opens its hospitable doors and the problem is solved. Thereby is averted another attack of the adversary, who might point out that the text represented by the Bamberg group is not the revision made according to Köhler under Adalhardus but the ancient Alcuinian form.¹⁴³ Now since the group must be later than the acknowledged books of Adalhardus's time,¹⁴⁴ this presentation of the old-fashioned text is a *protest* against the innovation. Back to Alcuin! And let us fly our banner in the face of the world by putting the Master's image in a medallion — yes, with a halo about his head!¹⁴⁵ This is an interesting episode — if we are driven to accept it — that brightens the history of textual criticism. Köhler points out that a give-and-take between St. Martin's and Marmoutier would be natural enough at the time, since Adalhardus was abbot of them both. He was a broad-minded man, we may add, encouraging the new idea in one of his institutions and the old in the other.

Clearly all this is in the domain of hypothesis, not to say airy fancy. I would submit, in contrast, another hypothesis, for which, I believe, there is more evidence. In its palaeography, the book clearly belongs in the first of the periods outlined above.¹⁴⁶ Some features of its illumination are clearly as late as Adalhardus, and yet, as Köhler demonstrates, it is hard to adjust the book to the development of the art of Tours at that

¹⁴¹ P. 217. In V, fol. 39^v; in H, fol. 175^v; in A, fol. 192^v. For touches of this design see K, 58k and l. The spaces between the interlaces are clear enough in the photographs. Here is a delicate point where art no less than palaeography needs life-size reproductions.

¹⁴² P. 231.

¹⁴³ P. 232, and see below, p. 389.

¹⁴⁴ P. 232: "darüber lassen Palaögraphie und Ausstattung keinen Zweifel."

¹⁴⁵ P. 233.

¹⁴⁶ P. 357.

time. Other features of the illumination seem early. The solution that I would propose is that the Bible of Bamberg, like the Grandval Bible, was somewhat made over by a later illuminator. The pictures, on inserted leaves, might have been later insertions, and the prefatory matter in the initial leaves might have replaced a simpler style. I shall have to present a number of minutiae to make this point clear.

The five prefatory leaves are thus arranged:

$$\begin{array}{c} 1 \ 2 + 3 + 4 + 5 \\ \boxed{} \end{array}$$

Fol. 1^r is pasted to the cover. Fol. 5, containing the poem, with the medallion, might have replaced a leaf containing the same text less elaborately presented. The title in gold and silver letters on purple bands surrounded by a frame appears on fol. 1^v — few titles, to the best of my observation, are done on the verso of a leaf. I shall try to demonstrate that the original title accompanied the large initial *F* on fol. 2^r. This *F* the reader may inspect in Köhler's plate.¹⁴⁷ The space left by the scribe was evidently intended for an *F* of other dimensions, like that in Angers 1-2, fol. 104^r.¹⁴⁸ Here the part of the shaft below the line of the lower bar (part A) is 94 mm. long, and the part above that point (part B) is 42 mm. The bars themselves are only 22 mm. in extent, but to accommodate the flaring half-palmette at the left of the top of the vertical shaft 16 mm. more are required; the total width of the letter at the top is therefore 38 mm. At the base of the rectangular part of the shaft there are half-palmettes on either side, making the width of the letter there 33 mm. Now the proportions of the parts of the Bamberg *F* and the original space, as judged by Kohler's reproduction, may readily be ascertained.¹⁴⁹ It happens that the distance from the bottom of the space up to a line above the beginning of the uncial text measures just 94 mm. (part A in the Angers Bible). If we slip the Angers letter into that space, part A is

¹⁴⁷ K, 57e.

¹⁴⁸ R, LXXXV. 2.

¹⁴⁹ In the present case we do not need the actual size of the letter to be sure of the facts, since we are dealing with proportions. Occasions might well arise, however, when the exact dimensions would be necessary to know — another argument for the need of life-size reproductions in art as well as in palaeography.

thus neatly fitted. An addition of 42 mm. (part B) would take us to the top of the letter, leaving 12 lines from there to the top of the page. From the vertical column-line at the left to the left of the space occupied by the uncial script there are in the lower part full 33 mm. — just the amount necessary for the width of a letter of the Angers type, whatever the adornments of the shaft in its lower part. The twelve lines at the top of the column, even assuming that no abbreviations were used, would amply accommodate the title as we find it not only in Bamb. but in Zür.:

INCIPIT EPISTOLA SĀI HIERONIMI AD PAVLINVM
PRESBYTERVM DE OMNIBVS DIVINIS HISTORIAE
LIBRIS

In the interstices of the big letter there would be ample room for the remainder of the two opening words:

RATER AMBROSIVS

Now the space at the top, 75 mm. from the outer vertical line to the column of text, is more than sufficient for an initial of the type of the Angers letter. Therefore one more elaborate than that must have been intended, something let us say, like that in Zür.¹⁵⁰ The later artist was accustomed to a style at least as ornate as that of the Rorigo Bible. The *F* in that manuscript measures in Köhler's plate¹⁵¹ 148×68 . The width, therefore, is .466 of the length. In the Bamberg Bible the space that had been left for the illuminator is 198×75 , the width being .375 of the length. This width, therefore, is not large enough for the bars of an *F* of the Rorigo type. To produce something of the same effect the artist cleverly sweeps the volute finials downwards at some length. Similarly, in the Rorigo *F* the length of the distance from the top of the lower bar to the top of the upper is .432 of the length of the entire letter; in Bamb. it is only .378. The artist could not drop the lower bar any further, else he would have interfered with the symmetry of the letter as a whole. He attained something of the character of the Rorigo *F*

¹⁵⁰ I regret that I have no photograph of this letter in Zür. It would be interesting to try to fit it into the space in the Bamberg book.

¹⁵¹ K, 33a.

by filling in the space between the lower bar and the text with branches. There was thus another reason for the volute finial, to provide a starting-point for the branches. For the sake of balance and for filling the space similar branches were attached to the finial of the top bar. Finally, this helped the disposition of the lettering attached to the initial (RATER AMBROSIVS), which otherwise would have been swimming in a sea of space. Such work seems to me clever, not clumsy. Confronted by the problem of setting an initial of one type into a space intended for one of another, the artist has solved it with no little ingenuity.

In various other cases it is obvious that the initial that is now seen in Bamb. was not of the kind for which space had been left. I will cite only two, the *P* on fol. 380^v ¹⁵² and the *B* (*B* instead of *N*) on fol. 334^v (K, 58 g) — the *B* intended had a smaller upper loop.¹⁵³

I would present, therefore, as a rival hypothesis to that of Köhler the view that the Bamberg Bible was written either in Alcuin's time or not long after his death. Part of the illumination was completed, and some of the initials planned were left undone. A later artist, either at the end of Fridugisus's régime or the beginning of that of Adalhardus, supplied the missing letters and, in general, refurbished the book. A careful scrutiny might reveal the nature of his alterations, and the residue could then be compared with the ornamentation of the Zürich Bible in an endeavor to reconstruct their common source. That they do descend from a common source is admitted by Köhler. He adds that the original of Bamb. was not necessarily Alcuinian, but rather a "*Zwischenstufe aus jüngerer Zeit.*" ¹⁵⁴ But what is the evidence for that?

The manuscripts grouped by Köhler with Bamb. now call for a word.

The Gospels of Basel (Bas. B) I examined anew in the sum-

¹⁵² R, LIX. 1.

¹⁵³ It would be interesting to trace the history of the two forms in Carolingian illumination. The scanty evidence at my disposal does not warrant the conclusion that the form with the smaller upper loop is consistently earlier than the other.

¹⁵⁴ P. 210.

mer of 1929 and am confident that the palaeography of the book places it in Period V, somewhere near the end of Fridugisus's régime. The ornamentation is clearly of a piece with the script. Köhler (p. 227) states that "die Schrift ist so auffällig unsicher und unregelmässig, wie nirgends sonst in einer tironischen Handschrift." I confess I do not see what this means; the workmanship seems to me pleasing and smooth. The art of the canon tables is clearly related to that of Bamb., though less elaborate.¹⁵⁵ The illumination of *B* instead of *N* in St. Jerome's letter to Damasus on the gospels¹⁵⁶ ought, by Köhler's evidence, to mark a book as earlier than the Rorigo Bible and the Gospels of St. Gozlin.¹⁵⁷

The Gospels of Leningrad (Len.), if I may judge from photographs alone, is a beautiful book. It is resplendent in silver and gold. Köhler criticizes its art for a certain "*Üppigkeit*,"¹⁵⁸ and puts it after Bamb. in point of date, Bas. B. heading this little group. I am inclined on the basis of what data I have to put it in Group V.

Vienna 468, a handsome Martinellus, is in both script and ornament a richer book than Bamb.¹⁵⁹ I had put it for its palaeographical traits in Period V, and a subsequent examination of the book by Dr. L. W. Jones confirms this estimate.

B. N. lat. 10848, another Martinellus, seemed to me so much simpler in the character of its script that I assigned it to Period IVb. The name of Landramnus added to a list of the archbishops of Tours marks the probable bounds for the date of this book, c. 816–c. 835.¹⁶⁰ I tend to put the book as near to 816 as possible, and Köhler as near as possible to 837, if not after it.¹⁶¹

It will be noticed that all the books grouped with the Bamberg Bible belong palaeographically — if my estimate is sound — in Period V, that is, the latter part of the régime of Fridu-

¹⁵⁵ Pp. 227 f. Still, gold and silver are lavishly used.

¹⁵⁶ Fol. 7r. Not in K or R.

¹⁵⁷ See above pp. 354–356.

¹⁵⁸ P. 229.

¹⁵⁹ P. 229.

¹⁶⁰ Or 837. I will not dispute Köhler's assertion (p. 230) that despite the apparent evidence of the list, the date might have been after 837 (though not very probably).

¹⁶¹ Pp. 230 f.

gisus from about 820 on, with allowance for a few years, perhaps, at the beginning of that of Adalhardus. I would, therefore, assign the refurbishing of the Bamberg Bible to that period and not to some later time. The date of the writing of the book would be distinctly earlier. For its script is no less an anomaly among the other members of the group to which Köhler assigns it than it is among all the books of the latter part of Fridugisus's régime or any part of that of Adalhardus. So, even if we transfer the group bodily to Marmoutier, the palaeography of the Bamberg Bible, if dated so late, will remain the same problem as before.

A book of the period of Fridugisus, the Stuttgart Gospels, was formerly associated by Köhler with the Bamberg group.¹⁶² I am inclined to believe that whatever the fine distinctions that led him ultimately to separate the two, they should be abandoned in favor of a larger inclusiveness. Not that these distinctions should not be made, and regarded as essential criteria of the Bamberg group, but that we should admit that the same scriptorium in the same period could cultivate different styles.

5. *Vivian (845-851) and the Rest of the Century*

On the splendid art of the mid-century at Tours, there are few issues to embroil us. The Sacramentary of Autun, written in honor of Raganaldus, abbot of Marmoutier, I always supposed was a product of that monastery. Its date at any rate may be set within narrow limits, since Raganaldus was abbot from 843 to 846. Its art, Köhler finds, continues the tradition represented by B. N. lat. 274, the Wolfenbüttel Gospels, and the Rorigo and the Grandval Bibles.¹⁶³ Just as clearly it does not reflect the style of the Bamberg group.¹⁶⁴ Inasmuch as the Bamberg group has been transferred by Köhler to Marmoutier, it becomes natural for two reasons to surmise that the Sacramentary was done at St. Martin's. I think, rather, that I should not disturb the Bamberg group, and while admitting that the Sacramentary might have been a present from St. Martin's to Marmoutier, abide by the traditional view that it was

¹⁶² Survey, p. 149.

¹⁶³ P. 247.

¹⁶⁴ P. 248.

done at the latter scriptorium. The use of \acute{t} , as well as \acute{t} for *tur* indicates, I ventured to state,¹⁶⁵ that it took Marmoutier a longer time than St. Martin's to abandon the earlier symbol of abbreviation. It is possible, of course, that the scribe retained it from an earlier text. The matter must be left uncertain till we know more about Marmoutier.

In the First Bible of Charles the Bald (B. N. lat. 1) Köhler finds the supreme achievement of Tours in the making of Bibles — "*die reife und letzte Frucht.*"¹⁶⁶ The date is reasoned out more precisely than ever before as 846,¹⁶⁷ and a good argument is put up against those who would assign the book to Marmoutier.¹⁶⁸ Not only is its art exquisite, but it resumes all that had been done in the different styles of Tours.¹⁶⁹ Even the Bamberg manner is at last combined, and harmonized, with the other varieties. Despite its excellence, this Bible was done in a hurry for a special purpose. Many artists, old and young, contributed to the work, some perhaps coming over from Marmoutier.¹⁷⁰ It is they, I take it, who were responsible for the rougher parts of the performance.¹⁷¹ In the script I was able to distinguish at least six hands — hands are hard to distinguish in the Perfected Style, to which many had been more and more exactly trained — and against those who think the book might have been started under Alcuin I maintained that it is all of a piece.¹⁷² Our estimate, therefore, agrees on this point, save that I should not incommode the artists of Marmoutier. One would have to get them across the river, to be sure, if the Bamberg manner had never been practised at St. Martin's. I prefer to believe that it had been going on there side by side with other tendencies, and that now for the first time, just as Köhler says, all hands and all styles joined in a great and successful effort to produce a masterpiece in a comparatively short stretch of time. Of course the writing of the book, especially if no more than half-a-dozen scribes did it, might have been begun a year or two before, with a present in mind for whatever monarch in those troublous times it was most advisable to propitiate. A goodly part of the ornamentation might also have been finished. It

¹⁶⁵ Survey, p. 150.¹⁶⁶ P. 251.¹⁶⁷ P. 240.¹⁶⁸ Pp. 238-240.¹⁶⁹ P. 251.¹⁷⁰ P. 252.¹⁷¹ P. 251.¹⁷² Survey, pp. 155 f.

would not have taken very long to add the parts that pertained especially to Charles the Bald.

It was Traube who expressed the view that this Bible and the Grandval book were copied from the same ancient source.¹⁷³ This remark perhaps applies to the pictures rather than the script, and yet one sign of antiquity is possibly the very rare appearance of *t̃* instead of *t̄*.¹⁷⁴ We must be cautious in this matter,¹⁷⁵ and yet when it is clear from the multitude of instances of *t̄* that the scribes of this Bible have no *habit* of occasional deviation into *t̃*, it is most natural to think that its rare appearance betokens the use of one of the earlier books of Tours that had been supplied with the variants of the newer text adopted systematically in B. N. lat. 1. Of especial significance is its solitary appearance in the title, in rustic capitals, of a *picture*.¹⁷⁶ A codex of the Roman empire would hardly have had this abbreviation. The original of the present picture, on the career of St. Paul, would more probably be some book of the earlier, perhaps Alcuinian, period which itself was copied from an ancient source. This possibility is perhaps strengthened by the unexpected illumination of *B* and not *N* in St. Jerome's letter to Damasus.¹⁷⁷

If now, with this splendid monument before us, we glance back at what preceded it, we note various worthy predecessors among the books of Fridugisus and Adalhardus — including, I should say, the members of the Bamberg group. But once more, in view of the steady progress of the script to the Perfected Form best illustrated in the Vivian Bible, it seems less and less possible to locate the script of the Bible of Bamberg at the end of the régime of Adalhardus, only a few years before the Vivian Bible was begun.

Another book of Bamberg assigned by Köhler to this period is the *Arithmetica* of Boethius, likewise a present to Charles the Bald. Köhler's enthusiastic description of this unique book is

¹⁷³ Neues Archiv, XXVII, 1901, 264–285.

¹⁷⁴ Foll. 238 and 239 are the only pages on which I noticed *t̃* in the text — once on each page.

¹⁷⁵ See above, p. 367.

¹⁷⁶ K, 74.

¹⁷⁷ Fol. 324^r; R, CXXXI. 2; not in K.

amply justified.¹⁷⁸ The grace and humor that went into the making of what is rather a bestiary than a textbook cannot be appreciated by one who has not seen the volume itself. The palaeographical traits of the book induced me to put it, despite its exquisite art, in the closing years of Fridugisus or the beginning of the régime of his predecessor.¹⁷⁹ It was presented to Charles the Bald, who is saluted in a dedicatory poem as *Caesar* and who bears the invincible name of his grandfather —

Invicto pollens nomine Caesar avi.

Köhler¹⁸⁰ selects 838 as the first possible date when Charles could have received such a present from St. Martin's, since he was not crowned until that year and not till then did the lower region of the Loire, to which Tours belonged, become a part of his domain.

I am not sure that a present to Charles might not have been in order before that time. In 831, Queen Judith, his mother, the *femina quaerenda* of the day, emerged triumphantly from the convent to which she had been relegated and humbled Lothair by having her son proclaimed *rex*.¹⁸¹ A moment like that would have been an auspicious one for a monastery that sided with Queen Judith to express by this gift to her boy its gratification at her victory. We do not know enough about the complicated history of the times to specify the only date at which this sumptuous copy of Boethius could have been presented to the youthful monarch. If 832 was the year, he was nine years old at the time, having been born in 823. The date 843 suggested by Köhler, in approval of Chroust,¹⁸² would make him twenty. The earlier date strikes me as a more natural one. The lad was presumably studying the first member of the quadrivium at the time and, we hope, had finished it before the later date. By that time, also, some greater compliment could have been devised for him than the reminder that he bore the same name as his redoubtable grandfather Charles. Although any person of sense at any time of life would have been pleased to receive a volume

¹⁷⁸ P. 255.

¹⁷⁹ Survey, p. 132.

¹⁸⁰ P. 235.

¹⁸¹ E. Dümmler, *Geschichte des ostgothischen Reiches*, I, 1887, 61.

¹⁸² P. 236.

like the Bamberg Boethius, it would have been especially agreeable to a youngster to own a beautiful textbook in which the irrelevant pictures had more value to him than the text. A great artist and a great humorist was that monk of St. Martin's who devised this illustrated arithmetic — which leaves far behind even the illustrated schoolbooks of our day — for the young prince.

The elegance of this book reminded me of Adalbaldis, though he is not the artist-scribe.¹⁸³ He may be found, I venture to believe, in the maker of the Gospels of Prüm, a book consigned to that monastery by the Emperor Lothair. I am reckoning with insufficient data so far as my knowledge of the latter book is concerned, but there is enough to warrant the surmise that one and the same man was responsible for both the script and the art of both, and that the Gospels, though a later work than the arithmetic, need not have been much later. In fact, it might have been a nearly contemporaneous product, intended to show Lothair, who had had the title of Emperor since 816, that a certain impartiality prevailed at St. Martin's.¹⁸⁴

On the unapproachable beauty of the Lothair Gospels and the books of its class, I can only echo Köhler's not excessive panegyric of their purity of style, which for him has not its equal in the whole history of mediaeval art.¹⁸⁵ Köhler has made more precise the approximate dating of the Gospels of Lothair, 849–851, just as he more exactly determined the date of the presentation of the Vivian Bible as 846.

This is not the place to discuss with any minuteness the books that Köhler places after the year 853. A word has already been said¹⁸⁶ on our estimates of the monuments of this period, on which he seems to me at times a bit severe.¹⁸⁷ I note with grati-

¹⁸³ Survey, p. 132.

¹⁸⁴ I hope to present a comparative study of these two books at a later time.

¹⁸⁵ P. 289.

¹⁸⁶ See above, p. 335.

¹⁸⁷ For instance, he likens the style of B. N. 261 to a translation of an ode of Horace into Vulgar Latin (p. 292). How often is a facile wit tempted into epigram! Like Ovid, ingenio periit. At least a word of praise would be appropriate for the rose-window into which Q has been transformed, in different ways, in B. N. 261 (K, 119d) and Add. 11849 (K, 122a). I confess also to a sense of pleasure at turning the leaves of

fication his detection of certain foreign influences at work at this time, for which the importation of Tours 23, an obviously Franco-Saxon book, may have been partly responsible.¹⁸⁸ His remarks on this matter encourage me to retain with greater confidence the hypothesis that I advanced of the existence of a Franco-Saxon period in the history of the art of Tours.¹⁸⁹

6. Audradus

On two books assigned by Köhler to Adalhardús our views widely differ. The Vatican Apicius he puts in the mid-century, and I, on what I regard as good palaeographical evidence, at the end of the régime of Fridugisus.¹⁹⁰ We agree in regarding the art as superb. It shows the same splendidly humorous audacity as the Bamberg Boethius in applying sacred designs to profane ends. Similarly Chartres 24, *Liber Comitis*, which Dom Wilmart had shown¹⁹¹ was the work of Audradus of Tours, I had assigned for its palaeographical traits to this same period of transition, c. 820–830. The illumination I had called “simple but elegant.”¹⁹² Audradus, the celebrated foe of Vivian and author of the *Liber Fontis Vitae*, was a monk of Tours before being appointed auxiliary bishop of Sens in 847. His name stands No. 54 on the St. Gall list of the members of St. Martin’s. As Dom Wilmart pointed out, he was probably sixty or more when he received his appointment in 847, and the script of the Lectionary of Chartres is not that of an old man.¹⁹³ He wrote the style that he learned as a youth, thinks Dom Wilmart, and therefore the book might have been written “*plus ou moins tôt, plus ou moins tard — mais plus vraisemblément tôt que tard — entre 800 et 830 ou 840.*” The traits that I noticed limit this field to c. 820–c. 830 — the transitional period of Fridugisus.

B. N. 263 and 267. Beatty 8 is surely, at least in its script, one of the great books of Tours.

¹⁸⁸ P. 293.

¹⁸⁹ Survey, pp. 66–68. But this is a false confidence, as is apparent in Köhler’s review (G. G. A., pp. 326, 332).

¹⁹⁰ Survey, p. 144.

¹⁹¹ ‘Le Lectionnaire de Saint-Père,’ *Speculum*, I, 1926, 269–278; cf. *ibid.* VI, 1931, 577, note 2.

¹⁹² Survey, p. 133.

¹⁹³ *Speculum*, I, 277.

But that will not do for Köhler. The illumination shows features that according to his estimate bring the book down to the times of Vivian (845–850). How does he get round the signature AVDRADVS? It is found, as was first noticed by the Abbé Yves Delaporte, tucked into the frame that surrounds the title on fol. 2^r.¹⁹⁴ The letters are placed each in one of the eight segments formed by the interlacing of a sexilateral figure with a circle. Nothing could be plainer.

And what does Köhler say? He admits that the Audradus in question must be the monk of Tours.¹⁹⁵ His solution is that the name in the Lectionary of Chartres is that of the owner, not of the scribe. Therewith, he declares, the argument of Dom Wilmart tumbles to the ground.¹⁹⁶

Something has tumbled, but not the argument of Dom Wilmart. The name was added, of course, after the completion of the design. The color of the ink is a delicate red. It may not be exactly of the shade of that employed in the decoration — my memory does not serve me on that point — but it presents, I am certain, no glaring contrast to the rest of the page. To the best of my observation, that is not the way in which an owner of a mediaeval manuscript indicated his ownership. We should expect an added note, such as Berno wrote in the Bern Virgil.¹⁹⁷ The artist Gedeon, in precisely the fashion of Audradus, tucks his name into the design of a canon table in Harley 2790,¹⁹⁸ and just so the artist Adelricus, as Professor Morey happily discovered, stamped one of the pictures in the Vatican Terence as his own.¹⁹⁹ To interpret the insertion of the name of Audradus differently is an obvious *Notbehelf*. If its plain evidence runs

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., plate opposite p. 270.

¹⁹⁵ P. 243.

¹⁹⁶ P. 244, "Die ungewöhnliche Eintragung des Namens ist, wie aus der abweichenden Tintenfarbe ohnehin wahrscheinlich wird, nicht als Künstlersignatur, sondern als Besitzvermerk anzusehen. Damit entfallen auch die Gründe die Dom Wilmart veranlassen haben, die Entstehung der Handschrift in die Frühzeit des 9. Jahrhunderts zu rücken. Das ist aus kunstgeschichtlichen Gründen nicht möglich."

¹⁹⁷ See Survey, p. 127; plate LXXVII. 1.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 106; Köhler, p. 39.

¹⁹⁹ Philologische Wochenschrift, 1926, 879. He writes 'Adelricus me fecit' on one of the bands of the pediment of the aedícula containing the marks of the dramatis personae (fol. 3^r).

counter to the story of the art of Tours constructed so minutely by Köhler, then that story needs modification.

I have given reasons from time to time, based on what seems to me the testimony of the script, for another view of the development of illumination at Tours. We should find, that is to say, in our manuscripts not only a general progress toward the undoubted perfection that reigned in the mid-century, but, now and then, the signs of some splendor of the past of which it itself gives only an imperfect idea. The latter period of the régime of Fridugisus, that is, was roomy enough for various tendencies in art, various systems of design, one of which is represented in the Lectionary of Chartres. That system may of course appear in certain later books as well,²⁰⁰ but here is the unescapable evidence that it was practised as early as the times of Fridugisus. The story must be rewritten, and the rewriting must begin with the times of Alcuin.

III

We come, at last, to the bearing of the foregoing discussion of the art and the script of the books of Tours on the question of the text of Alcuin's recension of the Bible.

Not only has Köhler considered script as an organic part of illumination, but, at least in the case of the gospels, he has had an eye to the character of the text of the manuscripts of Tours. A definitive estimate is of course impossible at the present time. He has attempted merely a "means of control."²⁰¹ The inquiry is amply justified by its results. He finds the text a less certain guide, to be sure, than the decorative style, since a later copy may have been made directly from some much earlier original.²⁰² Of course, for style and script and text alike, it is necessary to treat cautiously the evidence of all three. He indicates at the start that there is great diversity in the judgments of the experts — Corssen, Berger, and Dom Quentin.²⁰³

²⁰⁰ Such as the Gospels of Lothair and of Laon (see Köhler, p. 287). The art of the book of Chartres is obviously simpler than that in these beautiful productions.

²⁰¹ P. 314, 'Kontrolmittel.'

²⁰² P. 335.

²⁰³ P. 313. I wonder if Dom de Bruyne, despite his remarks in *Revue Bénédictine*, XXXV, 1923, *Bull. lit. chrét.*, [72], would quite subscribe to the statement that he has

The subject is divided into four parts: (1) the order of the books of the Bible; (2) the number and arrangement of the prefatory pieces to the gospels; (3) chapter-divisions and titles of chapters in the gospels; (4) the text of the gospels. These four investigations furnish different sorts of criteria, different tools, each more delicate than the last.²⁰⁴

(a) *The order of the books of the Bible*

The first of the four tools is blunt indeed. The order of the books of the Bible is virtually invariable in the manuscripts of Tours. In the three most striking exceptions — B. N. 11514, Basel, A. N. I. 3, and Cologne 1 — the gatherings, either of the codex itself or of its original, were disarranged by chance, as Köhler amply demonstrates.²⁰⁵ The Bible of St. Gall, indeed, has a peculiar arrangement at the end: the Pauline Epistles follow the Apocalypse. This, to Köhler, is due to no accident. It is the norm, the oldest type of the Bible of Tours, from which all the others “*abweichen*.”²⁰⁶ On the contrary, when such unanimity prevails in this series, whereas changes of order keep confronting us in the early Middle Ages in manuscripts of the Bible,²⁰⁷ it is safer to say that the order in St. Gall 75 deviates from that represented by the other manuscripts rather than that the others deviate from it. Köhler appeals to the evidence of Angers 1-2 (he regards this as a copy of some early book of Tours), which he says has the order Apocalypse, Paul, at the end.²⁰⁸ This manuscript, as we have seen,²⁰⁹ may well be a genuine book of Tours. It has the usual order, however, and not that of St. Gall 75, as I know from my examination of the book.²¹⁰ The Bible of St. Gall, therefore, is no true representation of Alcuin’s Bible in the present affair; it is off on a sidetrack.

“accepted (angenommen)” Dom Quentin’s new “Auffassung vom Verhältnis der Handschriften zueinander und von der Geschichte des turonischen Textes.”

²⁰⁴ P. 315.

²⁰⁵ P. 316.

²⁰⁶ P. 315 with n. 1.

²⁰⁷ P. 316; Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate*, pp. 301-306.

²⁰⁸ P. 315, n. 1.

²⁰⁹ Above, p. 350.

²¹⁰ Apocalypse is the last book, beginning on fol. 202^r of vol. 2 and going nearly to the end on fol. 206^v. Fol. 207 was added later. A hand of the eleventh century, which has supplied lacunae elsewhere in the book, writes the short amount of the text of Apocalypse lacking. He also writes out the Epistle to the Laodiceans. Fol. 207^v is

(b) *The prefatory pieces*

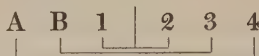
A second criterion, a tool of sharper edge, is furnished by the number and the arrangement of the seven prefatory pieces contained in the different manuscripts. Bibles and gospel-books are considered separately, and the results are then combined. It is obvious, first of all, that the order of the first three pieces (1. *Novum opus*; 2. *Sciendum etiam*; 3. *Plures fuisse*) is the same in all but three of the Bibles and the gospel-books as late as B. N. 9385, the latest in the series — 24 books in all — that extends through Vivian's régime. In B. N. 260 and Basel, B. II. 11, the order is 3, 1, 2, and in B. N. 17227 the pieces are not found at all. Köhler puts these books, though not wholly on this evidence, in a special group at the head of the list, as constituting its earliest members. He adds that the omission of the three pieces in B. N. 17227 is hard to account for, and that the arrangement 3, 1, 2 in the two other books, must be that of gospel-books before Alcuin's edition, the features of which were not immediately adopted in all the copies. But that is pure assumption. The natural inference ought to be that the order 3, 1, 2 is due to an error shared by B. N. 260 and Basel B. II. 11. They are derived, therefore, from the same faulty original — this inference will be strengthened when we consider the condition of the text in these two manuscripts.²¹¹ As for the omission of the pieces in B. N. 17227 it is fair to infer, in the case of a book so elegantly written, that it once contained this matter. Fol. 1^r of the present manuscript begins abruptly with the canon tables; the first is headed by nothing but the title, in uncials, INCPT CANON PRIM IN QUO QUATTUOR.²¹² That something must have preceded the canon tables is obvious. I am not

blank, except for scribblings. The argument for the Epistle to the Romans begins on fol. 175^v and the text on 176^v. The order Apocalypse, Paul is cited by Berger (p. 332) as found in "S. Gall. 75. Souvigny. Clermont 1. Angers 2.3. B. N. 25." I wonder if Köhler was misled by this statement, which follows the former designation of the mss. of Angers. The old Angers 1 is now 1-2; the old 2 is now 3-4 etc. Berger is referring to the present 3-4, not to the present 2. See the Catalogue des Départements, XXXI, 190. The other manuscripts here associated with that of St. Gall seem neither of Tours nor important.

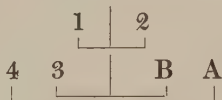
²¹¹ See below, p. 389.

²¹² K, 8a; R, XLIII. 1.

sure that any leaves dropped out. The first gathering is thus composed:



A and B are integral parts of 3 and 4, and really should have been given a modern numbering, although they contain no script. Now within this prefatory part there is an obvious flaw in the arrangement. Fol. 4^r begins with *Canon Quintus*, but the *explicit* of *Canon Decimus* is found on fol. 3. If we rearrange the leaves so as to introduce the canon tables in their order, they will be bound thus:



Thus we have *Canon Primus* on fol. 1, the end of the tables on fol. 3^r, and the *incipit* to the *Praefatio in Mattheum*, sumptuously occupying the entire page, on fol. 3^v. Two blank folia, B and A, follow, and then comes the first regular gathering. It lacks a leaf of being a quaternion ²¹³ but is signed, in the fashion observed throughout the book: $\mathfrak{Q} \text{ I}$. The first folio (5^r), written entirely in uncials, starts off with the text of the *Praefatio*: MATTHEUS SICUT IN ORDINE PRIMUS. I can best explain the confusion at the beginning of this book by supposing that Adalbaldus began his work with the text of the *Praefatio*, meaning to add the introductory matter later. Approaching that task, he took up the canon tables first. He did not plan his leaves well, for two blank ones intervened between the title of the *Praefatio* and its text. I can well fancy that the work was left hanging for a time just there. How much remained to be done one can only surmise. If it was done, then it was later lost.

Another mark of primitiveness, according to Köhler, is the omission of the letter of Eusebius to Carpianus (beginning *Ammonius quidem*) which contains important matter relating to

²¹³ (11) 5 6 7 | 8 9 10 11.

		└───┬───┘				
└───┬───┬───┬───┘						

the canon tables. We note its inclusion in a book rated by Köhler as Alcuinian (Harl. 2790) and its omission in some of the later books (the Grandval Bible, the Rorigo Bible, and the Basel Gospels). I may add that it is found in the Morgan Gospels, which has also before it the pieces *Novum opus*, *Sciendum etiam*, and *Plures fuisse* in that order. And in that veritably Alcuinian book, B. N. 260, just before the canon tables,²¹⁴ a leaf has been torn out that might well have contained the letter of Eusebius as well as *Canon Primus*.²¹⁵ Dom de Bruyne^{215a} states that it is probably of Insular origin, first appearing in the Gospels of Lindisfarne. It is a document, therefore, that Alcuin might well have appropriated for his recension, and its accidental omission by various manuscripts is easy to explain. The writer of the prefatory material might naturally leave it for the maker of the canon tables to include as part of his work. The latter, concerned first of all with the tables, might have thought it belonged to the writer of the other prefatory material, or have meant to include it after finishing the tables themselves, but have neglected to do so. In Basel, B. II. 11 the leaf²¹⁶ before the canon tables is blank—perhaps for the reason just set forth. The omission of the letter of Eusebius, therefore, is no sign that a book is true to the original design of Alcuin.

We turn for a moment to the beginning of the entire Bible. The letter of St. Jerome to Paulinus concerning the study of the Scriptures I have discussed above.²¹⁷ It should be noted that the Bibles of St. Gall and Monza, which begin with St. Jerome's letter to Desiderius on the Pentateuch, have the simple title *Incipit Praefatio sancti Hieronimi Presbyteri*. Something more than that would be expected to usher in Alcuin's new recension of the Scriptures. The true beginning is exhibited, I believe, in the Bibles of Zürich and Bamberg. What Köhler regards as primitiveness is merely incompleteness.²¹⁸

²¹⁴ Beginning on fol. 17.

²¹⁵ Fol. 18 begins with *Canon Secundus*.

^{215a} See G. G. A., p. 354.

²¹⁶ Numbered pages 17-18.

²¹⁷ Pp. 357 f.

²¹⁸ On the Bibles of Monza and St. Gall, see Köhler, p. 317. The Basel Bible is incomplete at the beginning.

Similarly, the titles of the sections, or chapters (*capitula*), are omitted in some of the books rated by Köhler as the earliest (although found in B. N. 260). This feature of Bibles in general²¹⁹ can hardly have been neglected by Alcuin. In some of the manuscripts these *capitula* precede the prefaces of the different gospels and in some they succeed these prefaces, the latter arrangement being found in most of the later books. That the Bibles of Zürich and Bamberg agree with B. N. 260 in putting the *capitula* before the prefaces might indicate, I should think, that those Bibles preserve the order given in an admittedly early and Alcuinian book, whether that was the order determined by Alcuin or not.

(c) *Capitula*

More complicated is the consideration of the titles in the *capitula* and of their number in relation to the number found in the text itself.²²⁰ St. Gall has no *capitula* and no numbers in the text, and other books placed by Köhler in his earliest group, or *Stufe*, are sparsely provided and even then show differences from the system conspicuous in most of the Bibles and gospel-books of Tours.²²¹ To my mind, that system represents the norm from which the St. Gall book and the rest have deviated.²²² It is this.

For St. Matthew there are 81 *capitula* given in a list that sometimes precedes the *Praefatio* to this book and sometimes follows it.²²³ The titles are numbered in this list and the corresponding numbers are added in the margins of the text. The first begins with the words *Generationum nomina* (= b).²²⁴

In Zür. and Bern another set of *capitula* appears, beginning

²¹⁹ See Berger, p. 307.

²²⁰ I am ashamed to say that I took only occasional notes on this point. It deserves a fresh investigation.

²²¹ Pp. 323-335.

²²² I agree with Berger's general attitude toward this question. See *Histoire de la Vulgate*, p. 228.

²²³ The latter arrangement seems the normal one.

²²⁴ Köhler adopts the notation of S. Beissel, *Geschichte der Evangelienbücher in der ersten Hälfte des Mittelalters* (Ergänzungshefte zu den Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, Heft 92 and 93), Freiburg, 1906, pp. 334 f.

De Natiuitate Domini (= *f*), with 72 titles.²²⁵ This set likewise appears with 77 titles in Harley 2790 (a book that I would assign to the latter part of Fridugisus's régime), in Stutt. (which we both assign to that period) with 72 titles, and in Len. (at least as late as that period) with 76 titles. It is also found in the Morgan Gospels, on the date of which see above.²²⁶ It should now be noted that in Zür., Stutt., and B. N. 250 the *text* is marked for 81 titles, and in Bern for 82. That is the number that goes with *b*, not *f*. Capitula are after all a luxury rather than a necessity. Some scribe might have omitted the set *b*, though adding the 81 numbers in the margin, and then copyists of his work might have taken from elsewhere the set *f*, which really did not fit the division indicated in the text. We may now note that the ancient B. N. 260, which has a peculiar style of numbering in the text,²²⁷ contains the *b* capitula. Judging by the lists in Beissel²²⁸ and in Wordsworth and White,²²⁹ this set is found in few manuscripts outside the Alcuinian circle; those that have it may well have taken it from Alcuin's Bible.

For St. Mark the typical capitula begin *De baptismo Iohannis, De Domino Iesu baptizato* (= *n*).²³⁰ Here there is no variation in Harl. 2790, Stutt., and Len. (47 titles), but another set, beginning: *Et erat Iohannes baptizans*, appears in B. N. 260 (no numbers), B. N. 250 (47) and Bas. B. (46). This set is evidently of Irish origin,²³¹ whereas *n* is practically confined to Tours.²³² Since the Irish set has 47 titles²³³ it would be hard to say off-hand to which set the marginal numbers in B. N. 250 and Bas. B. correspond.

²²⁵ Beissel, p. 332, IX, lists Zür. with Monza as having 77 chapters. But Monza apparently has no capitula for Matthew. Beissel is obviously wrong.

²²⁶ Pp. 351 f.

²²⁷ P. 329. The number 28 corresponds to that in the Codex Cavensis and in manuscripts associated with the revision of Theodulf. See Wordsworth and White, *Novum Testamentum Latine*, I, Oxford, 1889-1898, 38.

²²⁸ Loc. cit.

²²⁹ I, 18 f.

²³⁰ So in Mor. (fol. 70^r), Harley 2790 (fol. 89^r), and Grandval (fol. 348: see Wordsworth and White, p. 175); Grandval innovates by putting the capitula for all four gospels together on foll. 347-348^v. The title reported by Köhler (from Beissel, p. 335), "*De Baptismo Iohannis in Jordane*," is apparently incorrect.

²³¹ Wordsworth and White, p. 175.

²³² Ibid.; Beissel, pp. 332 f.

²³³ Wordsworth and White, p. 187.

In St. Luke, the capitula begin with *Visio Zachariae generandi Iohannem* (= *G*) and include 73 titles. Except for the books that have none at all,²³⁴ only B. N. 260, 250, and Bas. B vary.²³⁵ These three begin the capitula with *Zachariae sacerdoti apparuit Gabrihel angelus* (= *H*),²³⁶ with no numbers in B. N. 260; 79 in B. N. 250; and 76 (74 in the text) in Bas. B. Here again we have an Irish set of capitula,²³⁷ and again the other set appears virtually only in the books of Tours.²³⁸ In the number of titles there is a slight, but I think significant, difference — in *G* 73,²³⁹ in *H* 76.²⁴⁰ This is the number in Bas. B. (74 in the text), while B. N. 250 has 79 and B. N. 260 has no numbers. The number 74 in the text of Bas. B, may, therefore, correspond to *G* rather than to *H*.

A most important surprise is given by Monza, which, if Köhler is right,²⁴¹ has *G* unnumbered, but with 72 numbers in the text. What shall we say? Is this the place to note the first primitive insertion of the system that developed its fulness later? That were absurd. It is plain that Monza — like St. Gall — had neglected the matter of capitula and text-divisions, though indicating in this haphazard fashion that the system was already in existence.²⁴²

For St. John, the *Q* set of capitula is used, beginning *Ubi Iohannes testimonium perhibet*, with 35 titles.²⁴³ Here Bas. B joins the regulars (though having 43 numbers in the text).

²³⁴ St. Gall 75, Bas. A., B. N. 17227.

²³⁵ Bern has 74 numbers with 78 in the text, and Zür. has 72 in the text.

²³⁶ So B. N. 250 (fol. 26r), 260 (fol. 109r), Bas. B. (fol. 165r). Beissel (p. 335) has *Zachariae sacerdoti apparuit* (Gabriel) *Angelus*, and Köhler (p. 324) omits Gabriel altogether.

²³⁷ Wordsworth and White, p. 275.

²³⁸ Ibid. pp. 274 f.; Beissel, pp. 332 f.

²³⁹ 72 in Monza (text) and Prüm; 74 in Bern; 78 in Bern (text).

²⁴⁰ Wordsworth and White, p. 305.

²⁴¹ P. 324. He did not have time to take full notes on this manuscript (p. 327, n. 1) — nor did I.

²⁴² Köhler notes a sprinkling of numbers in the margins of St. Gall in an unsystematic fashion that does not seem to him worth recording in his list (p. 325). Now and then a number is “übersprungen.” He concludes that St. Gall has two different systems mixed and that Monza replaces (“ersetzt”) this mixture by a unity. I should call both Monza and St. Gall very imperfect representations of the original system of Alcuin.

²⁴³ 36 in Prüm.

Monza with 34 in the text may indicate that the same set was found in the book it copied.²⁴⁴ B. N. 260 and 250 have *P* (*Iohannes testimonium perhibet*), with no numbers in the former manuscript and 36 in the latter. Again the alternating set is Irish.²⁴⁵ The similarity between the two — here and elsewhere — suggests that Alcuin may have started with Irish capitula and abbreviated and changed them to suit his fancy. In fact the whole riddle is solved if we suppose that the scribes of Tours had accessible the full Irish text of the capitula with changes in it by Alcuin as well as the form that issued after these changes were made.²⁴⁶

So much for this criterion. We need exact collations of the capitula throughout before further analysis is profitable.²⁴⁷ For the moment I can see no grounds whatever for Köhler's conclusion that the systematic use of the capitula is part of a post-alcuinian reform.

(d) *The text of the gospels*

We are now ready for the finest of the four instruments of testing.²⁴⁸ Those that we have examined suggest the necessity of gathering all the pertinent facts. The nature of this evidence, in my opinion, is not essentially different from that offered by textual variants,²⁴⁹ but it leads to less patent results for the rea-

²⁴⁴ 35 in Q, 36 in P: see Wordsworth and White, p. 506.

²⁴⁵ Wordsworth and White, p. 493.

²⁴⁶ Köhler's hypothesis of an Insular source for some features of the art of Tours and for the capitula (pp. 326 f., 331, 334) receives a setback, he thinks, from the evidence of the capitula in Matthew (p. 332). A comparison of the titles in the Irish manuscripts with those in the Grandval Bible (Wordsworth and White, pp. 19-39) tends rather, I believe, to establish a relationship — not perhaps of quite the kind postulated by Köhler — between Alcuin's Bible and certain English and Irish sources.

²⁴⁷ This investigation is urgent and promising. Even now certain results are patent — such as the use of an entirely different system in later books where other influences are apparent in the art. See Köhler, p. 330, on B. N. 261 and Add. 11849. What I have written here was in print before I could take advantage of Dom de Bruyne's comments in G. G. A., pp. 354 ff. We may hope for a final treatment of the subject from him. Meanwhile I fail to find in the facts presented by him evidence to overthrow my main conclusion as stated here.

²⁴⁸ P. 336.

²⁴⁹ Köhler (p. 319) finds that Grandval and Rorigo belong with the earlier Bibles, just because they omit the letter of Eusebius, but that this evidence can no longer be retained since "nach dem feineren und deswegen dem anderen übergeordneten Kri-

son that more data are displayed in the consideration of the text.

In this matter, as Köhler has made clear, we are provided merely with a means of control and not a complete study of the subject. Köhler starts²⁵⁰ with lists of readings given by Corssen for the gospels in the volume on the Ada-manuscript,²⁵¹ and adds the testimony of twelve manuscripts to Corssen's seventeen. The list of variants remains the same. It is a pity that Corssen had not selected the most important 202 readings from the entire text of the gospels instead of giving a complete report of six small sections from Matthew, one from Mark, and one from Luke, with none from John.²⁵² Moreover, a number of the variants in his list, while significant for his purposes, throw no light on Köhler's problems, since in those cases there is no variation among the books of Tours. Others are cases of minor independent errors on the part of only a few manuscripts. In fact hardly more than one half of the 202 readings furnish evidence of any value for distinguishing the varieties of text in the representatives of Alcuin's edition. For all that, we have something to start with — a useful criterion so far as it goes, and more exact than Berger's numerical lists²⁵³ or the discoveries by the *règle de fer* of Dom Quentin.²⁵⁴

On the basis of the data thus accessible certain results are manifest. To be absolutely certain we need complete collations of every one of the manuscripts of Tours, but Köhler has at least made it plainer than ever before that the text of the Alcuinian Bible falls into three main divisions:

terium" (i. e. the use of capitula) they belong in the later group. I differ in estimating the value of the former criterion as Köhler applies it, but, supposing it established any fact whatsoever, that fact cannot be thrown away just because a "finer" criterion discovers apparently contradictory facts. Fact must be adjusted to fact. The omission of a prefatory piece is per se as important a fact as the omission of a sentence of the text.

²⁵⁰ P. 338, n. 1.

²⁵¹ Die Trierer Adahandschrift, bearbeitet und herausgegeben von K. Menzel, P. Corssen, etc., Leipzig, 1889, pp. 29-61. I will cite this book as Adahandschrift.

²⁵² The use of Corssen's selections is the more regrettable since in B. N. 274, veritably a pivotal manuscript, on the borderland between the old text and the new, the passage from St. Luke is missing. See also Dom de Bruyne's comments in G. G. A., p. 357.

²⁵³ P. 241.

²⁵⁴ See Harvard Theological Review, XVII, 1924, 197-264.

- (1) Alcuin's original text. (I will call this A. T.) Its source is apparently twofold — some ancient Latin text and some book or books from the British Isles.²⁵⁵
- (2) A revision ("*eine eingreifende Textrevision*")²⁵⁶ made, as Köhler thinks, under Adalhardus. The exact date of the new edition (N. E.) will concern us later.
- (3) Finally there is a still later form (L. F.), represented by such books as B. N. 261 and Add. 11849, which show in the text the same Franco-Saxon influence that appears in their art.²⁵⁷

Within the first group, Köhler marks out three *Stufen*.²⁵⁸ I will not pause for details, since his conclusions here are far less certain than those just stated. He is tempted, as in his discussion of the development of illumination, to be too precise. It is impossible to say that B. N. 260 has an earlier form of text than St. Gall.²⁵⁹ Both are obviously of the A. T. class — one can say no more. Köhler has a right to adopt the order that he thinks the consideration of the art of the books has established — with St. Gall at the top — and see how it comes out with reference to the text. The results are in general encouraging.

I choose a few instances, prefacing them with Köhler's numbers, to show the difference between A. T. and N. E. I add the readings of the Morgan Gospels (Mor) and of Tours 22 (the Golden Gospels [MT]) as reported by Wordsworth and White. Th indicates the recension of Theodulf of Orléans as indicated by B. N. 9380 and B. M. Add. 24142 (Hubertianus) as reported by Wordsworth and White. Ir denotes the Irish group (D E L Z) and Nor the Northumbrian text (A Y). In general, I indicate the probabilities without giving all the details accessible in

²⁵⁵ P. 347. One Irish (though not exclusively Irish) spelling that the scribes of Tours never ventured to abandon is 'abhominacionem' in Matt. 24, 15. Only B. N. 47 and the second hand in the Gospels of Nancy venture to correct.

²⁵⁶ P. 340.

²⁵⁷ Köhler suggests that Tours 23, probably a gift to St. Martin's, may have been one of the sources of such influence (p. 343). B. N. 261, he finds, diverges entirely from the text of Tours, while Add. 11849 is mixed (p. 330). A typical reading is No. 117, Matt. 24, 13, 'permanserit' Tur. Ir: 'perseveraverit' B. N. 261, 267, Add. 11849. Corssen cites other manuscripts apparently of a Franco-Saxon character (Adahandschrift, p. 51).

²⁵⁸ P. 336.

²⁵⁹ P. 339.

- | | | | | | |
|--------------|-------------|-------------------|---------|-----------------------|---|
| 1. Matt. 15, | 2 | traditiones | Mor | MT | traditionem] Ir Nor Th |
| 5. | 7 | isaias | Mor | MT | esaias] Ir Nor Th |
| 19. | 38 | viorum | Mor | MT | hominum] Ir Nor Th |
| 34. | 16, 18 | infern | Mor | MT Ir Th | inferi] Nor <i>et al.</i> |
| 45. | 27 | opus] | Mor | MT Nor | opera Ir Th |
| 47. | 17, 3 | apparuerunt | Mor | MT | apparuit] Ir Nor Th |
| 76. | 21, 31 | in regnum] | Mor | MT <i>Graec.</i> | in regno Ir Nor Th |
| 83. | 23, 15 | circuitis | Mor | MT Nor | circumitis] Ir Th |
| 91. | 21 | qui] | Mor | (MT Ir Nor Th) | quicumque <i>codd. paucissimi</i> |
| 94. | 23 | uae] | Mor | (MT Ir Nor Th) | uae autem <i>codd. paucissimi</i> |
| 141. | 24, 45 | nescitis qua hora | Mor | MT Ir Th = B. N. 9380 | qua nescitis hora] (AY) Th = Hub |
| 159. | Mark 16, 18 | eis | nocebit | Mor Th | eos nocebit] (Ir Nor) (MT?) |
| 170. | Luke 6, 8 | in medium] | Mor | (MT Ir Nor) | in medio <i>codd. paucissimi</i> |
| 181. | 26 | prophetis] | Mor | (MT Ir Nor Th) | pseudoprophetis <i>Vall. et. codd. pauci</i> |
| 192. | 38 | eadem quippe] | Mor | | eadem vero MT <i>codd. paucissimi</i> |
| 195. | 42 | et quomodo] | Mor | (MT Ir Nor Th) | aut quomodo <i>codd. paucissimi vel nulli</i> |

Wordsworth and White. A square bracket after a reading indicates that it is accepted by Wordsworth and White. Parentheses include the symbols of manuscripts whose readings may be inferred from Wordsworth and White's apparatus, though not stated there. The reading of A. T. is given on the left of the page and that of N. E. on the right.

If we try on the basis of these few, but significant, readings, to estimate the character of Alcuin's basic text, we note certain indications that it was of an Insular character.²⁶⁰ We note also certain readings for which Alcuin himself may have been responsible, since they are not represented in any important group of manuscripts reported by Wordsworth and White.²⁶¹ Whoever devised N. E. returned in these cases to the generally accepted reading. In other cases some minor source was followed, which was apparently not what I at first surmised it might be, the recension of Theodulf.²⁶² This might have been the source in certain cases,²⁶³ but here there is always another possibility, and in other places the reading of Theodulf agrees with A. T. In some of these, the maker of N. E. might have turned to one of the recognized groups, either Ir or Nor,²⁶⁴ but in most of them a reading was followed that is found in only a few manuscripts thus far reported.²⁶⁵ Further investigation should discover what this source was. I surmise, and on the basis of the evidence accessible can only surmise, that it was something Franco-Saxon.

The manuscripts of A. T., in Köhler's order, are these: B. N. 260; St. Gall; Harley 2790; Monza; B. N. 17227; Bas. A; Stutt.; Add. 11848; B. N. 250; Zür.; Bern; Bas. B.; Bamb.

There follow four in which N. E. makes its appearance, but has not completely ousted the earlier text:

Len.; Grandv.; Nancy; B. N. 274.

²⁶⁰ Nos. 34, 45, 91, 141.

²⁶¹ Nos. 1, 5, 19, 47, 76, 83, 159.

²⁶² I was influenced by the fact that the Gospels of St. Gozlin, one of the earliest books to contain clear signs of N. E., contains besides the usual prefaces those of Theodulf. See Köhler, p. 179.

²⁶³ Nos. 1, 5, 19, 45, 47, 76, 83, 141.

²⁶⁴ Nos. 34, 159.

²⁶⁵ Nos. 91, 94, 170, 181 (note that the Codex Vallicellanus, in accordance with Berger's statement [p. 203] that its text, though originating in Tours, is crossed with some influence from the north of France, contains the reading of N. E.), 195.

In the last of these four, N. E. has well-nigh established itself.

The manuscripts clearly N. E. are:

Wolf (enbüttel); B. N. 3; B. N. 1; Prüm; B. N. 266; Laon 63; B. N. 47; B. N. 9385; Col. 1.

The last three of these, especially B. N. 9385, show a tendency to revert now and then to A. T. readings.

It is apparent at a glance that the evidence of the text confirms in general the order that Köhler on the basis of the illumination and I on the basis of the script have independently established. There is further cause for assurance, then, that our methods are in general sound and that renewed investigation will settle the questions still at issue.

Let us now consider some of the individual manuscripts. And first, let me make two important additions to the A. T. group.

The Morgan Gospels in both parts is A. T. not only in the cases cited above²⁶⁶ but in all of the readings listed by Köhler. Köhler, it will be remembered, regarded the text of St. Matthew as done in Alcuin's time, and in any event not long after his death.²⁶⁷ But since it is indubitable that this part of the book was added to the rest of it,²⁶⁸ the whole book, whatever its exact date, is Alcuinian in its script. The character of the text is now found to be A. T., as on this assumption it ought to be.

Next it is plain that (for all but a very few readings) in the Golden Gospels (Tours 22), which I regarded, in keeping with the traditional estimate of this book, as a work done under Alcuin, the text is appropriately A. T. I follow the report of Wordsworth and White, which I have every reason to believe is exceedingly exact. In 92 cases no reading is cited, since it is assumed that the manuscript (MT) agrees with the reading chosen by these editors. In all of these MT agrees with A. T. In 84 cases, where the reading of MT is cited, it agrees in characteristic readings of A. T., most of them not accepted by Wordsworth and White. Twenty-seven cases remain for discussion. In one of these, where it is hard to make out a consistent reading for N. E.,²⁶⁹ MT is not cited. In one,²⁷⁰ where

²⁶⁶ P. 384.

²⁶⁷ P. 161.

²⁶⁸ See above p. 351.

²⁶⁹ No. 191, bonam (et) confessam (confertam). The reading of A. T. was apparently bonam confersam.

²⁷⁰ No. 122.

most manuscripts of both A. T. and N. E. have *domo*, MT preserves what looks like the original Alcuinian reading, the lectio difficilior *domu*, with Monza, Add. 11848, Zür., Bamb., Nancy, Wolf., and B. N. 47 (m. 1). Thirteen cases present similar forms that could readily be confused independently, as is shown by the discordant testimony of the A. T. manuscripts or of those of both classes.²⁷¹ In one case,²⁷² MT agrees with some, though not all, of the N. E. manuscripts and with the second hand (m. 2) in Stutt. and Add. 11848; in another,²⁷³ MT has the easy error of *reuoluit* for *reuoluet* with B. N. 250 (m. 2), B. N. 267 and m. 1 in B. N. 3 and Prüm. In No. 167, it has *licet* for *licebat* — and so do B. N. 260, Add. 11848 (m. 2), B. N. 261, and Add. 11849.

Thrice MT deviates from all the books of Tours. In No. 160, it reads *aegrotos*, the accepted reading in Wordsworth and White, instead of (*a*)*egros*; if MT got this from some other source, that source was not N. E. In No. 179, MT agrees with B. N. 261 alone among the books of Tours in having *quia* instead of *qui* — this is hardly proof of a special Franco-Saxon influence on either of these manuscripts.

Four cases remain in which MT shows a reading that clearly seems to be that of N. E. Even here there are other considerations to be weighed.

No. 22. Matt. 16, 4 *ionae*]. A. T. adds *prophetæ*, not in MT or N. E. (B. N. 9385 and 267 return to *prophetæ*). But the gloss fails also in B. N. 260, Harl. 2790, Monza, and others. MT, then, agrees with these manuscripts in not taking on this addition of Alcuin's — it is not necessarily dependent on N. E.

No. 159. Mark 16, 18 *eos nocebit*] earlier N. E., MT: *eis nocebit* A. T., later N. E. (B. N. 47, 9385, 267. Col. 1). Alcuin here improved the grammar, but the right reading, vouched for by other sources, is in Wordsworth and White's estimation, *eos*. N. E. found *eos* in some source and adopted it — and MT had

²⁷¹ I put the reading of MT first in each case. No. 48, *illis* (*eis*); 60, *dicant* (*dicunt*); 104, *ex eis* (*ex illis*); 105, *persequemini* (*persequimini*); 129, *omnia* (*omnia haec, haec omnia*) — see below, p. 391, n. 291; 135, MT omits the questionable sentence — see below, p. 391, n. 291; 147, *unguerent* (*ungerent*); 151, *obstipuerunt* (*obstupuerunt*); 157, *crediderunt* (*crediderant*); 186, *aufert* (*auferet*); 188, *aufert* (*auferet*); 189, *nihil inde sperantes* (*nihil desperantes*); 196, *poteris* (*potes, potest*).

²⁷² No. 200, *audit* (*audiuit*).

²⁷³ No. 148.

already done the same. We should note that in this case the reading of MT is known only by inference from Wordsworth and White; it is not cited.

No. 171. Luke 6, 9. *sabbato*] A. T. Prüm, B. N. 9385: *sabbatis* N. E., MT. Here is the only clear case of agreement of MT with a N. E. reading in which there is no apparent objection to considering MT a representative of N. E.

No. 172. Luke 6, 15. *mattheum et thomam*] N. E. (Wolf., B. N. 3, 1, 266, 261, Add. 11849) (MT): *thoman (thomam) et mattheum* A. T., Prüm, B. N. 47, 9385, Col. 1 (m. 2). Here, again, the reading of MT must be inferred. Granting the accuracy of Wordsworth and White, we may again observe that while agreeing with N. E., MT also agrees with the sources followed by our editors in constructing their text. We have noted the same thing in various cases, including one (No. 160, *aegrotos* for (*a*)*egros*) in which the source followed by MT lies outside of the Tours manuscripts altogether. Since, then, there is only one case (out of 202) in which direct connection with N. E. might be asserted (No. 171), it is safe to assume that this is merely a chance coincidence; the reading *sabbatis* for *sabbato* was either devised independently by MT and N. E. or, more probably, taken independently from similar sources.

Is this the only reading of its kind in the entire text of the gospels? Until that question can be answered by a full collation, we must suspend judgment, putting up with a temporary estimate.^{273a}

In Köhler's list of A. T., B. N. 260 heads off, since its text has been found to represent a form even earlier than that of St. Gall.²⁷⁴ Accordingly I find it less possible than ever to follow Köhler's deduction that the latter book is the oldest known example of Alcuin's Bibles and the necessary basis for any construction of the text of that recension.²⁷⁵ Berger, who con-

^{273a} Dom de Bruyne, in G. G. A., p. 358, concludes too hastily, I believe, that MT is not "un vrai ms alcuinien." Perhaps his opinion may prove correct when all the facts are in. It would be profitless to discuss here the agreements and the differences in my comments on the text of Alcuin's revision and those of Dom de Bruyne. Both are obviously of a tentative character — *mémoires pour servir*.

²⁷⁴ P. 347.

²⁷⁵ P. 347: "das älteste, uns bekannte Exemplar von Alkuins Bibel und muss die Grundlage für alle auf seine Textemendation gerichteten Erörterungen bilden."

sidered an entirely different set of readings, placed it very near Bern and not far from Grandval and Monza; he thought the script not that of Tours.²⁷⁶

Among the representatives of A. T. I am not surprised, after Corssen's and Berger's discussions and my own investigation of the script, to find the Bamberg Bible. To be sure, we remember Köhler's explanation²⁷⁷ that the group to which Bamberg belongs, though Adalhardian in art, represents the protest made at Marmoutier against the New Edition. Len., however, shows frequent traces of that innovation. Was there some backslider at Marmoutier?²⁷⁸ And as to Bamb. itself — if it proclaims the return to Alcuin, and if the Alcuinian books were but imperfectly provided with prefatory matter and capitula, why does Bamb. have the full set in the 'later' way? Because, I would answer, it does indeed preserve the Alcuinian tradition in all these matters. Its text is not a revival, but furnishes a criterion of its association with the earlier books.

A natural subject for inquiry is the possible existence of minor groupings of the various manuscripts, and although Köhler denies that such grouping can be made out before the New Edition,²⁷⁹ he himself points out several coincidences in reading that indicate that such groupings may exist. He refers to fifteen cases in which Harley 2790 and Len. are connected²⁸⁰ — and my estimate of their very different scripts would put them both in the latter part of Fridugisus's régime. Another fifteen cases associate B. N. 260, 250, and Bas. B., and with them now and then the Grandval Bible.²⁸¹ Of especial note is the coincidence of the Bibles of Zürich and Bamberg²⁸² with B. N. 17227 in four important cases and with B. N. 260 in a fifth.²⁸³ Clearly the

²⁷⁶ P. 129.

²⁷⁷ See above, p. 361.

²⁷⁸ Köhler can only point out (p. 344, n. 3) that this book is the latest of the group. But if both it and Bamb. were done in the latter half of the nine-year abbacy of Adalhardus, no great length of time intervened between their appearance.

²⁷⁹ P. 343.

²⁸⁰ P. 345, n. 2.

²⁸¹ Ibid. n. 3. Note also that Bas. B. and B. N. 260 have the order *Plures, Novum, Sciendum*; see above, p. 375.

²⁸² By an unfortunate misprint he has Bern for Bamberg here (p. 345).

²⁸³ Ibid. n. 1.

Bible of Bamberg is connected with that of Zürich, and both of them with books estimated by Köhler as early.²⁸⁴

One of the coincident readings of B. N. 250, Bas. B., and Grandval²⁸⁵ is of special interest, since it may throw some light on the basic text of Alcuin. These manuscripts read *trea* for *tria* in Matt. 17, (51). The Morgan Gospels and Tours 22, I may add, agree in this error, and so does B. N. 3. It looks like an Irish trait, especially when we note it in two of the members of the Irish group of manuscripts of the gospels as constituted by Wordsworth and White: L (Litchfield Gospels, saec. VII/VIII) and R (Rushworth Gospels, c. 820). Six scribes of Tours in the first half of the ninth century would hardly fall independently into this mistake. I should infer that it existed in some Irish book used by Alcuin, that he had put a dot below the *e* and an *i* above it, and that some of the copies of his recension, even one so late as B. N. 3, had failed to take the correction.²⁸⁶

This consideration leads to the important inquiry as to the form of Alcuin's edition. He did not, I take it, remove all traces of the basic text, but like Theodulf²⁸⁷ put many of his variants in the margins or between the lines. One copy of his work was sent to the emperor. One or more remained as models for later scribes, who would inevitably differ in the exactness with which they incorporated Alcuin's variants in the text. This consideration should lead us to go slow in constituting the groups of manuscripts. Thus in Matt. 16, 23 (No. 40) Alcuin replaced *post me* with *retro me*.²⁸⁸ The fact that *post me* is still read by B. N. 260, 250, and the Basel Gospels is not necessarily a proof that they derive from the same original, and cer-

²⁸⁴ In No. 122 they agree with Monza. On p. 317 Köhler admits that Bamb. and Zür. may go back to the same original — this on the strength of the introductory matter. See also Berger, p. 229. Also see above, pp. 357-359.

²⁸⁵ Grandval, I may note here, is consistently A. T., as is appropriate in accordance with my view that the script is earlier than some of the illumination. See above, p. 355. It contains no N. E. reading that is not found also in one or more of the earlier A. T. books.

²⁸⁶ For other clues leading towards Ireland, see above, pp. 379, 380, 381, 383, 385.

²⁸⁷ See Dom Quentin, *Mémoire sur l'Établissement du Texte de la Vulgate*, 1922, pp. 290-293, and my review of this work. Köhler apparently would agree with this estimate of the nature of Alcuin's edition and of the manner in which its variants were taken; see p. 345.

²⁸⁸ Read, appropriately, by Mor and MT.

tainly no proof that these manuscripts lay the foundation for N. E., which reverts to *post me*. The three scribes may have independently failed to take Alcuin's variant. Similarly in Matt. 23, 16, Alcuin, here following the Irish group, substitutes *debitor est* for *debet*,²⁸⁹ but B. N. 260, St. Gall, Harley 2790, Monza all retain *debet* — not because they form a group but because their scribes independently neglected Alcuin's innovation, which was likewise rejected by N. E. However, one of the N. E. manuscripts, B. N. 9385, reverts to the Alcuinian reading, as it often does.²⁹⁰

These examples will suffice to illustrate the probable character of Alcuin's recension.²⁹¹ The case of B. N. 9385 apparently shows that N. E. was prepared in the same way. The scribe of B. N. 9385, that is, did not conflate two different texts, the new and the old, but took now one and now the other from the A. T. book in which the N. E. variants had been entered. The other representatives of the later class proceeded in the same fashion, though none of them reverts to A. T. so frequently as does B. N. 9385. Of course it may be that manuscripts that concur frequently in their selections of old and new may be drawing on some book in which those selections had already been made. That may be the case with the groupings pointed out by Köhler. We shall have no certainty in this matter, however, until complete collations of all the manuscripts are made. An interesting study awaits someone who is willing to make it.

We may now endeavor to ascertain more nearly, if we can, the date of the New Edition. Impressed with the improvement of script and art in the primacy of Adalhardus, and finding the first signs of N. E. in manuscripts of that period, Köhler would place the introduction of it there. Moreover, considering the changes wrought by the improvement of the school as the result of a gift from Amalricus in 841, who was one of the three magistri at the time,²⁹² he first asks²⁹³ if it is a too "*kühne Vermutung*"

²⁸⁹ Mor and MT have *debitor est*.

²⁹⁰ For example, Nos. 1, 21, 22, 30, 40, 55, 56, 58, 73, 83, 86, 90, 133, 134, 141, 171, 172.

²⁹¹ I will refer the reader also, for a few among many examples, to Nos. 22, 120, 129, 134, 135. The reading of Mor is Alcuinian in all of these, and so is that of MT in all but Nos. 22 and 135, where the previous text is retained.

²⁹² P. 22.

²⁹³ P. 342.

to regard Amalricus as the compiler of the new text, and then, finding that it is not too bold, speaks categorically of the "*Amalricustext*," the "*Amalricusrevision*." He further suggests that the withdrawal of Amalricus from St. Martin's upon his elevation to the archbishopric of Tours in 849 may have had something to do with the decline of art at Tours. Here, again, we are in the domain of clever conjecture rather than of established fact.

The first manuscript that shows a thoroughgoing acceptance of N. E. is B. N. 274. This manuscript I had assigned to Period V, associating it with Fridugisus rather than with Adalbaldu, and Köhler would put it in the earlier rather than the later period of Adalhardus. But the importance of Amalricus is not apparent until 841, near the end of the régime of Adalhardus. The presence of N. E. is also clear in the Gospels of Nancy, a book that again is an early book of Adalhardus according to Köhler but one of Fridugisus by my estimate. The N. E. readings in this book are sometimes by the first hand,²⁹⁴ but in most cases by the second hand.²⁹⁵ So far as my memory serves me, some at least of the additions by the second hand are clearly contemporary; in fact they may have been made by the original scribe himself. It is natural to suppose, once more, that the manuscript he copied was A. T., with the new readings written between the lines or in the margins, and that, while preferring the old, he registered many of the new as variants and incorporated some of them in the text.

An especially illuminating case is Matt. 24, 50 (No. 146), where A. T. read *ebriosis*. The copy followed by Nancy, B. N. 274, Wolf., B. N. 3, and B. N. 1 read erroneously *ebrios* (the final syllable being omitted by a mere scribal error). The second hand in Nancy corrects to *ebriosis* again, the reading of the remaining manuscripts of N. E. The second hand in B. N. 274 emends the faulty *ebrios* to *ebriis* and that, as it happens, is the accepted reading in Wordsworth and White, found by them in most of the manuscripts of the gospels outside the group of

²⁹⁴ Nos. 28, 45, 46, 73(?). The A. T. reading is given by m. 2 in Nos. 46, 73.

²⁹⁵ For instance, Nos. 1, 5, 7, etc.

Tours. The common origin of Nancy and the other four manuscripts that have the error is thus attested.²⁹⁶

But there is one book in which signs of N. E. appear that in its script, as Köhler agrees, is surely of the time of Fridugisus and not later. That is Add. 11848. This book in its text is consistently A. T., but it contains a goodly number of N. E. readings by the second hand. But these, so far as I can judge from my photographs, may well be, like the variants in Nancy, the work of a contemporary scribe, if not of the very writer of the manuscript. This matter needs further investigation. Meantime I will merely record again my opinion that the New Edition was achieved in the régime of Fridugisus not that of Adalhardus.

In general, while admitting that discussions of the text of the biblical manuscripts of Tours have given us mere samples of what they contain, I believe that the evidence of the text, so far as it goes, tends to corroborate my disposition of the books of Tours rather than Köhler's.

IV

It is plain, I believe, from the various considerations above discussed, that Köhler's account of the history of illumination and of script at Tours in the first half of the ninth century, while it is presented with admirable clarity and penetrating analysis, is by no means certain. I have indicated several subjects for investigation that might be immediately undertaken to great advantage.

The first is the Bible of St. Gall. This has become a veritable cornerstone for Köhler's building, and yet I have questioned whether it is a book of Tours, and not, as Berger thought, an imitation.²⁹⁷ It surely has the Alcuinian form of text; even if the copy was made at St. Gall or some associated monastery, its date might be earlier than Berger believed. One test could be immediately applied. The Vatican Livy represents, if I am right, the style of writing on the basis of which Alcuin de-

²⁹⁶ Berger (p. 215) speaks of the extremely close connection between B. N. 3 and B. N. 1.

²⁹⁷ See above, p. 342.

veloped his reform. If it was not written just before his arrival, the scribes were at work during his incumbency at St. Martin's. Now a fairly large number of scribes wrote the Bible of St. Gall, and their work, like that of the Vatican Livy, is only an approach to the recognized style of Tours. Or rather, I should say, the Vatican Livy makes an approach: the St. Gall Bible looks back — in Köhler's phrase, though not in the sense that he intended, it is "eine ängstliche und unsichere Nachahmung älterer Vorbildern."²⁹⁸ Now it would be a simple matter to confront the Bible of St. Gall with the plates in the Vatican Livy, in the expectation that if both books were written in Alcuin's time or near it, one or more of the writers of the Livy would make their appearance again in the Bible. Should that be the case, the Bible must plainly be adjudged a book of Tours, although even so not all the consequences that Köhler has drawn might follow from this fact. On the other hand, if no such coincidence in hands were discovered, it might still be that the Bible was done at Tours, but by a different set of scribes. But the doubt that already, in my opinion, hovers about the book would be still further increased. A final task would be to compare the script with that cultivated at St. Gall in the first three quarters of the century to see if that of the Bible contained the characteristic traits of the latter.²⁹⁹

Similarly, the genuineness of the script of the Basel Bible and that of Angers 1-2 should be further investigated. The connection of the latter book with those that show a correspondence in the contents of certain gatherings should be examined anew, in the hope of discovering other scribes besides Hand L in the Morgan Gospels that wrote parts of various books. And the location of the entire group at Marmoutier is a possibility to be kept in mind.

In art, a comparative study of the canon tables ascribed by Köhler to the time of Fridugisus is called for.³⁰⁰ The earlier and

²⁹⁸ P. 60. Köhler means that the scribes of Alcuin in this book were feeling their way and experimenting with certain features of script only later elaborated. I mean that the scribes of St. Gall may be imperfectly reproducing the full-fledged Embellished Merovingian Style.

²⁹⁹ See above, p. 342.

³⁰⁰ See above, p. 347.

the later illumination of Grandval and Bamb. should be distinguished. The element of humor in the work of those great artists who adorned the Leyden Nonius Marcellus, the St. Jerome of Ghent, the Bamberg Boethius, and some of the later books, needs a volume for its proper treatment. If, as I surmise, the last-named manuscript, in all its parts, is the work of the same scribe who made the Gospels of Prüm, his achievements in these two volumes call for an appreciative analysis and his presence should be sought in other masterpieces of Tours. Then, turning to the origins, we should examine the Ashburnham Pentateuch and its possible influence on the art of the later books.

The study of the text of Alcuin's Bible, begun by Corsen and advanced by Köhler, calls imperatively for a thorough treatment on the basis of complete collations. Nor can the prefatory matter or the capitula, with the numberings in the margin, be neglected. A long but profitable task awaits some investigator; he could settle the problem of the nature of the basic text, of the groupings among the manuscripts, of the form of Alcuin's editions, of the nature and the date of the New Edition. The added variants in Add. 11848 and the Gospels of Nancy should be examined, to see if they are by the original scribe or by a later hand. Some American scholar could help the cause by making a complete collation of the Morgan Gospels. Even with the printed sources available, much progress could be made. The apparatus in Wordsworth and White includes two important representatives of Alcuin's text of the gospels in the Grandval Bible and Tours 22; with a collation of the Rorigo Bible (B. N. 3) one would have trustworthy material for comparing the original edition with the later revision. In the two volumes thus far edited by Dom Quentin for the Vatican edition of the Vulgate, containing Genesis and Exodus, one would find immediately accessible sufficient representatives of both the recensions.

My own endeavors in the immediate future will be devoted to laying the foundations. Köhler's treatment of the art of Tours starts out, perforce, as though Alcuin began with a tabula rasa. While there is little in the way of illumination to consider in

the pre-alcuinian manuscripts, though something there is, the script of at least a dozen books, outside of those in what I called the 'Irish Period,' deserves the most critical scrutiny. To understand Alcuin's relation to the Script of Tours at the time of his primacy at St. Martin's, we must examine in some detail the foundations on which he built. I shall at least begin this effort to prepare the way for Alcuin in the next volume of my series, to be called *The Earliest Books of Tours*.³⁰¹

³⁰¹ On some of the matters specified above, I hope for the coöperation of B. M. Peebles of the Harvard Graduate School of Arts and Sciences and of Professor L. W. Jones, author of *The Script of Cologne*, soon to be published by the Mediaeval Academy of America.

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